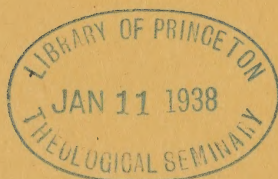


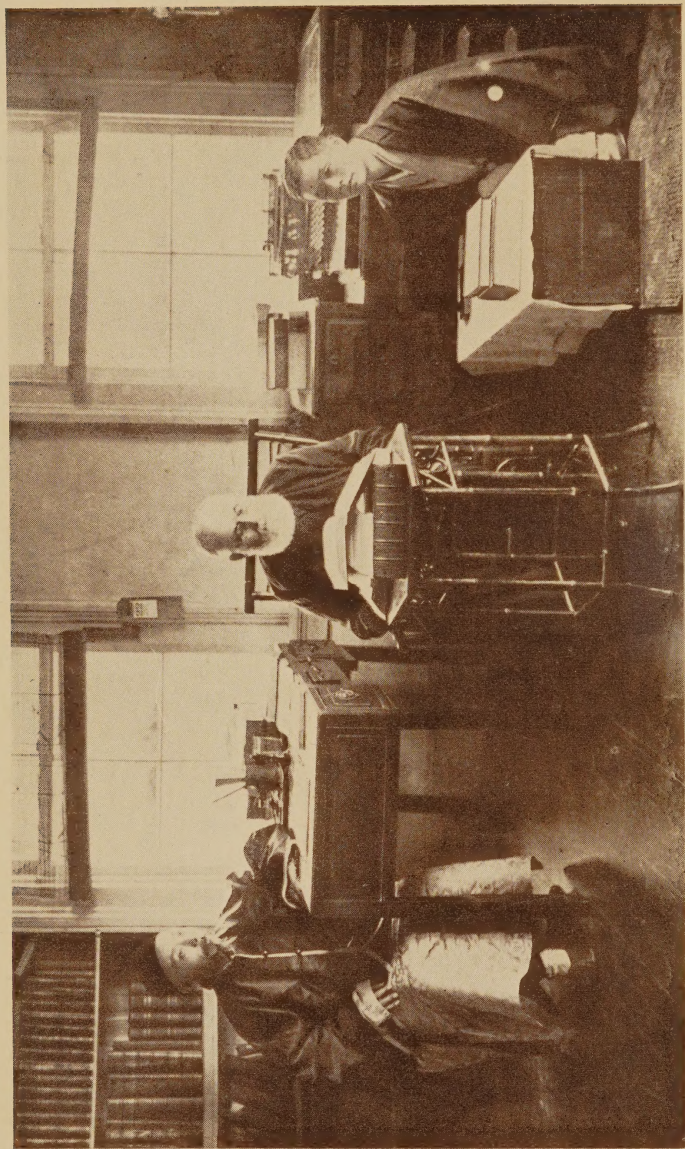
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Apostle of China

APOSTLE OF CHINA



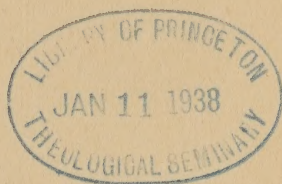
BISHOP SCHERESCHESKY IN HIS STUDY (1902)

On the left is his Chinese secretary, Lien;
on the right, his Japanese scribe, Bun.

APOSTLE OF CHINA

Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky

1831-1906



by

James Arthur Muller

*Professor at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge,
Massachusetts; Formerly Professor at Boone (now
Central China) College, Wuchang, China*



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To

Henry Bradford Washburn

Teacher, Colleague, Friend

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RESEARCH IN THE CELLAR

IT'S A shame to break good locks like these," said Jean the janitor.

"It is," I replied, "but there are no keys."

"Just wait a minute," he said, and left me alone in the vault.

Through roundabout ways I had entered the vault. It all began a quarter of a century ago when I read Kate Harper Haywood's *Torchbearers on the King's Highway*, a diminutive volume, published in 1909, containing sketches of the lives of half a dozen modern missionaries. The little I there learned of Bishop Schereschewsky made me want to know more. Later, when I lived for a time in China, I heard much of him, but when, a few years ago I decided to write his life, it looked as if source material were almost non-existent.

I wrote to his daughter, Miss Caroline Schereschewsky, a missionary teacher in Japan. "I did possess some letters and newspaper articles," she replied, "with the help of which I wrote a short account of my father's life for Deaconess Ridgely of China. The duplicate of this and everything else I owned were burned in the fire following the earthquake of 1923."

I then turned to her brother, Dr. Joseph Williams Schereschewsky, of the United States Public Health Service and the Harvard Medical School. Although he had been visited by neither earthquake nor fire, he had nothing more than his sister in the way of documentary material. Of course they both have shared with me their personal memories, which have been of exceptional value, and both have been more than ready at all times to answer what often must have seemed to them foolish questions.

Naturally I looked next to the Department of Foreign Missions of the Episcopal Church, in the confident expectation that much of the Bishop's correspondence would be there preserved. I wrote to one of my friends at the Church Missions House and received this cheerful reply:

"You will find lean pickings here in the way of archives. It is a perennial problem what to do with the constant mass of accumulated correspondence. Every so often there is a housecleaning, and what would be precious stuff for future historians is sent off with junk dealers. This process years ago must have engulfed valuable letters and journals, for we have searched high and low on a number of occasions and have uncovered almost nothing of Bishop Schereschewsky, Bishop Boone, and the early pioneers. I am afraid that you historians are just out of luck."

There was one more possible repository of some of the Bishop's correspondence—the American Bible Society, which had published most of his translations.

Hence, in the fall of 1933, when, through the generosity of the Trustees of the Episcopal Theological School, I was given a half year's leave of absence, I went to New York and to the American Bible Society. The Rev. Eric M. North turned me over to an efficient young woman, Miss Margaret T. Hills, who appears to know where everything is, was, or ever will be in the Bible House. She immediately produced three or four cartons containing, among other things, a few of Schereschewsky's letters. She then led me to the basement where a further search was rewarded with the discovery not only of more Schereschewsky letters, but also of many references to him in the correspondence of the agents of the Society in China.

My thanks are due to the Secretaries of the American Bible Society for placing this material at my disposal, and to Miss Hills for her courtesy and skill in helping me find it.

Heartened by these discoveries, I advanced in person on the Church Missions House. What I had previously been told by letter was now repeated by word of mouth. "But," I queried, "even if there are no letters, are there no manuscript minutes of the Board of Missions?"

Mention of minutes woke a responsive chord in the heart of the Rev. Franklin J. Clark, one of whose duties, as Secretary of the National Council, is the making of minutes. He led me to a closet on the third floor from which he extracted enormous ledger-like volumes, filled with minutes, beautifully written in

longhand. The earliest volume was for 1877. Since Schereschewsky had gone to China in 1859, this was disappointing, but not entirely so, for his episcopate began in 1877.

To my joy I found that these minutes not only recorded the business transacted by the Board but also noted the receipt of letters from missionaries, sometimes quoting from them at length, and summarizing the replies sent. And every so often there was a note: "The full correspondence on this matter will be found in the vault." I asked Mr. Clark if there were a vault in the Missions House. "Yes," he said, "there is; but I've never been in it." He went on to explain that it was the domain of the Treasurer.

To the Treasurer's office we went. There we found the late Mr. Charles A. Tompkins. Of course he would let me into the vault, but he warned me not to be hopeful of finding anything there but ledgers, vouchers, stubs, and receipts.

We descended to the cellar. After passing through two sets of steel doors and a wooden gate, we found ourselves in an electrically-lighted room down the length of which ran rough wooden shelves. On these were old account books and heaps of envelopes, thick with dust, containing, as Mr. Tompkins had said, papers from the Treasurer's office.

Against three sides of the room were piled, from floor to ceiling, wooden boxes, each about two and a half feet long, a foot deep, and a foot high. The front sides were made to open outward on hinges, but most

of them were locked. They were numbered from one to eighty-eight.

"What's in them?" I asked.

"Old treasurer's stuff," said Mr. Tompkins, "brought up here from Astor Place when this building was put up forty years ago."

"May I look into them?"

"Help yourself," he genially replied, by this time convinced that I must be slightly daft.

It happened that the locks on three of the boxes were open. The first two I looked into were, as he said, full of old treasurer's stuff, but the third, to our surprise, was filled with packets of letters—letters from the first missionaries to Liberia in the eighteen thirties, letters from Bishop Boone and his early contemporaries in China, and, near the bottom, a slim sheaf marked Schereschewsky!

There was now nothing for it but to go through all the rest of the boxes. Seeing that this might take days if not weeks, Mr. Tompkins said he would leave me to my own devices and ascend to the saner atmosphere of the Treasurer's rooms.

"How about keys to the boxes?" I asked.

"Keys!" he exclaimed in surprise. "If we ever had them they were lost long ago." And, waving his hand toward the boxes, he added, "Break them open!"

Thereupon he summoned the capable and intelligent Jean, who came with a small crowbar and other appropriate implements and proceeded to force lock number one. He was beginning on the second when

he made the remark that it was a shame to break open such good locks, and disappeared.

In a few moments he returned with an old cigar box full of keys—keys with little round brass tags attached, each tag bearing a number. "I wonder," said Jean, who had never been inside the vault before, but who had seen these unexplained keys kicking around the cellar for as long as he could remember, "I wonder if these won't open the boxes." They did.

I then began a three weeks' exploration of the contents, emerging periodically into the upper air looking like a stoker. Much, indeed, was old treasurer's stuff. But there was a good deal besides.

There were minute books of the Board of Missions from the first meeting of its Executive Committee in 1822 to 1877. There were many of the original minutes, just as jotted down, in large envelopes, often containing correspondence and other documents in full, which had been given in summary in the formal copy. There were the original applications for appointment, of most, if not all, of the missionaries during the nineteenth century. With Schereschewsky's was a copy of the resolutions of the faculty of the Western Theological Seminary at the time of his leaving that school. There were bound letter-press copies of all the letters from the Board to the missionaries. And finally there were the letters and reports of the missionaries themselves, from the beginning of organized mission work through 1901.

Thus was opened to me almost the entire corres-

pendence of Schereschewsky, his wife, and his missionary contemporaries, with the Board and its secretaries. Nor was this solely of the formal nature which one might suppose. The Rev. Joshua Kimber who served the Board in one capacity or another from 1867 to 1902, chiefly as secretary for foreign missions, was a personal friend of the Schereschewskys, and their letters to him combine friendly intimacies with matters of business in a way which makes them of peculiar value to a biographer.

Dr. John W. Wood generously permitted me to bring the entire collection of Schereschewsky letters with me to Cambridge, for temporary use. To him and others at the Missions House, especially to the Revs. Artley B. Parson and Arthur M. Sherman, and Messrs. Clark and Tompkins already mentioned, I am indebted for every possible courtesy.

Unexpected as the discovery of the letters at the Missions House was, it was almost matched in unexpectedness by other discoveries. Miss Schereschewsky's loss of her copy of the account of her father, which she wrote some decades ago for Deaconess Ridgely, has been mentioned. I wrote to the Deaconess (who is now Sister Emily Faith of the Episcopal Convent of St. Lioba at Wuhu) and found that she had not only preserved Miss Schereschewsky's letter, but knew where to lay hands upon it. She sent it to me at once.

An astonishing coincidence was responsible for the finding of another source of information. I had come

across a note in *The Spirit of Missions* for 1861 that Schereschewsky had gone with two British Army officers, as their interpreter, on a voyage of exploration up the Yangtze River. There was also a letter from Schereschewsky saying that he was keeping a journal of the voyage and would later send an account of it, taken from the journal, to the Board of Missions. Neither the journal nor the account was discoverable, and in what little information I had of the expedition, not even the names of the British officers were given. One day, in the house of my next-door neighbor, Professor Angus Dun, I mentioned this among other snags I had struck. "It's just possible," said Dun, "that one of the British officers was an uncle of mine by marriage."

He went on to say that, when in England a few years ago, he had looked up a widowed aunt, a Mrs. Blakiston, who had shown him a book by her husband. He hadn't read the book and didn't recall the title, but was sure that it had something to do with exploring the Yangtze. I at once consulted the catalogue of the Harvard Library and found *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze*, by Captain Thomas W. Blakiston, London, 1862. The first page made it clear that here was a full account of the expedition in which Schereschewsky had participated. The names of other members of the party pointed the way to two briefer stories of the voyage published in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1862.

Another source was the letters of Schereschewsky's friend, the Rev. Henry Blodget of the American

(Congregational) Board in Pekin. Blodget's letters to the Board, as well as those of its other missionaries, have been preserved in bound volumes and deposited in the Harvard Theological Library in Cambridge.

It is devoutly to be hoped that if, in the future, missionary letters at the Church Missions House are really in danger of the junk man, they will be placed in some similar repository.

The Rev. Carleton Lacy, Secretary of the China Agency of the American Bible Society, has kindly sent me a few letters from Schereschewsky, as well as a few concerning him, from the files of the Society in Shanghai. He has also furnished me with the names of the Bishop's Chinese scribes, and forwarded some anecdotes of the Bishop from the Rev. Godfrey Hirst, the Society's representative in Tientsin, who was told them some years ago by Dr. John R. Hykes.

Many persons who knew Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky in their later years have been good enough to share their memories with me. For this I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Elliot H. Thomson, Mrs. Daniel M. Bates, Miss Clara J. Neely, Mrs. Franklin Knight: Bishops William Lawrence, Frederick R. Graves, Logan Herbert Roots, Daniel T. Huntington, Gouverneur Frank Mosher, Henry St. George Tucker, and Arthur Conover Thomson; the Revs. F. L. Hawks Pott, Joseph Carden, Laurence B. Ridgely, Charles H. Evans, James J. Chapman, J. Armitage Welbourn, John Cole McKim, and Elliott W. Boone; the Ven. J. Rockwood Jenkins, and Drs. William H. Jeffreys and

Charles S. F. Lincoln. The Rev. Dudley Tyng, although he never knew the Bishop, is the source of one anecdote about him which he picked up in China.

The Rev. Harold McAfee Robinson of the Presbyterian Board of Education, Dr. Robert E. Speer of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and the Rev. James A. Kelso, of the Western Theological Seminary, have all courteously answered queries concerning references to Schereschewsky in the records of the bodies over which they preside. Rabbi David Max Eichhorn and the Rev. Paul L. Berman have both helpfully directed me to articles on Schereschewsky in various publications.

For information concerning Schereschewsky's naturalization I am indebted to the United States Department of Labor.

Photographs of the Bishop and his wife have been lent to me by their son and daughter, by Mrs. Schereschewsky's niece, Miss Caroline C. Phelps, and by the editors of *The Spirit of Missions*, who have also supplied other photographs used as illustrations.

The chief printed sources used are the files of *The Spirit of Missions*, *The Churchman*, *The Church Journal*, *The Living Church*, *The Southern Churchman*, *The Chinese Recorder*, and the *Bible Society Record*; the Journals of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church; the annual Reports of the American Bible Society, of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church, and of the Church Congress.

A few other sources are indicated in the text. In addition to these, some material has been found in the pamphlet, *The Bishops of the American Church Mission in China*, Hartford, 1908 (inaccurate, but containing a valuable letter from Mrs. Boone); in G. T. Bedell's *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, New York, 1878; and in the following publications of the Board of Missions: *An Historical Sketch of the China Mission*, 1893; *Letters, Documents, etc., in the Matter of Episcopal Jurisdiction in China* [1907]; and *The Story of the Church in China*, by A. R. Gray and A. M. Sherman, 1913.

Almost all that is known of Schereschewsky's conversion is found in two articles by the late Rev. Louis Meyer, a Jewish Christian, who says they are based chiefly on facts furnished by Schereschewsky himself. One was published in *The Jewish Era*, July, 1903, and the other in *The Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1907. The Passover supper at which Schereschewsky took the final step, was, says Mr. Meyer, described to him by an eyewitness.

Short accounts of Schereschewsky have appeared in other periodicals, in biographical dictionaries, and in histories of missions, but since they add little or nothing to what we learn from the sources mentioned, I do not list them here.

Gathering material for this biography has been a delight. It was exhilarating to come upon my first Schereschewsky manuscript in the Bible House. It was like a detective story to pick up a clue to a for-

gotten exploration of the Yangtze in my next-door neighbor's living room. But the best fun of all was digging up what everybody had said wasn't there at all in the cellar of 281 Fourth Avenue.

I am peculiarly indebted to the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, President of the Church Historical Society, and to the Rev. Artley B. Parson and Mr. William E. Leidt of the Church Missions House, for reading my manuscript and for their suggestions for its improvement.

APOSTLE OF CHINA

I

THE HINGES OF THE DOOR

"IT'S IMPOSSIBLE. You can't get in." So said a classmate of William J. Boone when, as a student at the Virginia Theological Seminary, he announced his intention of going to China as a missionary.

"I'd give my life," replied Boone, "if I could but oil the hinges of the door."

* * * * *

He had given twenty-one years of his life, fourteen of them as Bishop, to service on the doorstep and in the vestibule—at Batavia, at Amoy, at Shanghai. He was in America, broken in health. Then the door swung wide. It was 1858 and China had concluded treaties with the nations of the west by which, among other things, missionaries were to be free to travel into the interior, and Christianity was to be tolerated throughout the Empire.

A single address in public at this time left Bishop Boone utterly exhausted; yet, as he said a year later, "there was such glorious news to tell from China that I felt, like the lepers at the gate of Samaria, 'some mischief would befall me if I held my peace.'" He undertook a tour of the churches to appeal for funds, and a

visit to the theological seminaries, in Virginia and New York to recruit men. Miraculously, as it seemed to his contemporaries, his health improved, and the response to his appeals was beyond all expectation. The money gifts, amounting to \$26,000, showed, he said, "a measure of liberality never before witnessed in our Church"; and as for volunteers, at the Virginia Seminary his hearers, as he put it, "appeared ready, almost to a man, to say, 'Here am I, send me.'"

Seven of them and the mother of one—to be matron of a boys' school—received appointment by the Board of Missions. These, together with the wives of three, made a total of eleven recruits from Virginia. At the Seminary in New York the Bishop's success did not appear so phenomenal. There but one student offered himself. But the winning of this one was perhaps the most significant result of the Bishop's campaign.

II

WITHOUT THE CAMP

SAMUEL ISAAC JOSEPH SCHERESCHEWSKY (pronounced *Sher-rě-sheff'-sky*) was born of Jewish parentage in Tauroggen, Russian Lithuania, on May 6, 1831. Tauroggen was a town of perhaps 5,000 inhabitants, about fifty miles from the Baltic Sea and two or three from the Prussian border. It had, until 1795, been under Poland. In the final partition of that unhappy country it was taken by Russia. Today it is in the independent republic of Lithuania.

Schereschewsky appears to have been named for his father, or at least to have borne two of his father's names, Samuel and Joseph. It was Joseph by which he was, throughout life, known to his friends. The original name of his father's family, which was of the Ashkenazic branch of Jewry, is said to have been the Hebrew word for *law-giver*; but this had been dropped, probably some generations earlier, and Schereschewsky, a Slavonic name, adopted. On the maternal side he was of Sephardic extraction, his mother, Rosa Salvatha, being of a Spanish Jewish family.

Both his parents died while he was a small boy, and he was taken into the home of an adult brother, or more probably a half-brother, son of his father by a

former marriage, a timber merchant in good circumstances. As he early showed himself an apt pupil, he was given the best education available, at first under a local Rabbi and then in the Rabbinical school in the adjacent town of Krazi. For it was the intention of his relatives that he become a Rabbi. His daughter recalls his telling how he would rise before dawn in winter and trudge "for miles across the snow to the school kept by an old Rabbi."

In his home, in all probability, he spoke Yiddish; outside it, Polish or Russian or both; in school he studied Hebrew, and the Old Testament and Talmud in that tongue. So thorough was his training that later, when he became the master of many languages, he said he knew Hebrew better than any other. He is said to have composed poetry in Hebrew at the age of eighteen. His education was not, however, confined to books. It was deemed essential that every Jewish youth know a handcraft, and Schereschewsky learned that of glazier.

At about the age of fifteen he left his brother's home, and sometime thereafter entered the Rabbinical School at Zhitomir, the capital of the province of Volhynia, some four hundred miles to the southwest of Tauroggen. This was a Jewish center of importance, more than a third of its fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants being Jews. Here he remained until he was about nineteen, when he went to Germany, where he studied for a year or more at Frankfort (it is not clear whether this was Frankfort-on-the-Oder or Frankfort-on-the-

Main), and finally for two years at the University of Breslau. To the end of his life he spoke German like a German born.

It seems that from the time of his leaving Tauroggen, he was thrown entirely on his own resources, supporting himself by tutoring in Jewish families, perhaps also by occasionally working as a glazier. At times his food for a day consisted of a single loaf of bread which he divided into three parts, one for breakfast, one for lunch, and one for supper. Such fare, however, was not so frequent as to impair either his health or his spirits. He was of a merry, enthusiastic disposition, and he always counted his student days as among the happiest of his life. As for health, he was, until middle life, of a peculiarly vigorous constitution, lithe, spare, active, an inveterate walker, and a powerful swimmer.

He had no little opportunity for walking while a student, for he traveled on foot, with his belongings in a pack on his back, the four hundred miles from Tauroggen to Zhitomir and the five hundred or more from Zhitomir to Germany.

One incident of his student days he related with satisfaction to his son: His single pair of trousers wore out. He had money enough for cloth for a new pair, but not for a tailor to make them. He bought the cloth, took it to his room, ripped open the seams of his old trousers, laid them on the cloth as a pattern, cut out and sewed up the new pair before going out again.

Middle
It was while still at Zhitomir that Schereschewsky's interest in Christianity was awakened. The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews had missionaries in several Jewish centers on the Continent at the time, and the New Testament, translated into Hebrew under its auspices and first published in 1817, was widely distributed. A fellow student secured a copy from a representative of the London Society in Königsberg, brought it to Zhitomir, and not finding it of interest, gave it to Schereschewsky. He, on the contrary, became convinced, by his study of the book, that in Jesus the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament and the age-long hopes of his people had been fulfilled.

This conviction, however, was one at which he arrived only gradually. In 1859 he said that he had been an essential believer in Christianity for at "least seven years," which would seem to place the ripening of his conviction in the time of his sojourn in Germany, or rather during a holiday visit, in that period, to his relatives in Tauroggen; for late in life he wrote: "My conversion took place in Europe, in my native town, through the reading of the New Testament in Hebrew." Even then his conviction was not sufficiently strong to bring him to an open break with Judaism.

Just what religious forces were brought to bear upon him in Germany we do not know. His daughter recalls his mention of an experience in a German cathedral. As he stood in the rear of the nave looking

toward the altar, a shaft of light suddenly struck the crucifix, illuminating it with what seemed, for the moment, an unearthly glory. It appears to have been accompanied by a moment of inner illumination, or at any rate, so to have impressed him that it became connected in his mind in some way with his ultimate acceptance of Christianity.

It is probable that while at Breslau he came under the influence of Dr. S. Neumann, a Jewish Christian missionary of the London Society and, for a quarter of a century (1834-59) lecturer in Hebrew at the University. It was through Neumann that Isaac Hel-muth, later Bishop of Ontario, was led to the acceptance of Christianity.

After two years at the University, Schereschewsky decided to emigrate to America. When, in the summer of 1854, he came to Hamburg to take ship, he met a Christian Jew by the name of Jacobi who gave him a letter of introduction to the Rev. John Neander, likewise a Christian Jew, pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn and missionary to the Jews in New York. When Schereschewsky landed in New York he went at once to Neander, and through him became acquainted with other Jewish Christians, among whom were the Rev. Julius Strauss, Neander's associate in mission work, the physician, Morris J. Franklin, and Gideon R. Lederer, who, beginning the following year, worked for two decades as an independent Baptist missionary to the Jews in New York. Although Schereschewsky was much in the company

of these men, over half a year passed before he definitely decided to enter the Christian Church. His approach to Christianity had been along the road of intellectual conviction, and he appears to have been without such an emotional "conversion" as was commonly looked for at that time by most Protestant bodies in America.

It was not until the spring of 1855 that an experience approaching such an emotional crisis occurred. The group of Christian Jews with whom he had been associating asked him to join them in their celebration of the Passover. The Passover meal was eaten with the accustomed Jewish ceremonies, but at the end each one rose and told what faith in Christ had meant to him. It is not hard to imagine how such an occasion, recalling the most solemn associations of his boyhood and linking them to his newer convictions, moved the young man. According to one who was present, his head slowly dropped into his hands as he listened to the words of his companions, and he gave every appearance of a person deeply stirred. Then his lips moved in silent prayer. At last he rose, and in a voice stilled with emotion, said, "I can no longer deny my Lord. I will follow Him without the camp."

Persuaded by Lederer that immersion was the proper form of baptism, he applied to a Baptist minister (Lederer being a layman), and, after instruction, was immersed. For a while thereafter he was, presumably, connected with a Baptist congregation. He

remained in New York more than half a year after his baptism, supporting himself, it seems, then, as in the half year preceding, by plying the trade of glazier. He later referred to his first months in New York as a time of considerable poverty.

While still in New York he became a Presbyterian. The reasons for this change are unknown, but his friendship with the Jewish-Christian Presbyterian ministers, Neander and Strauss, was doubtless a contributing influence. He likewise determined to study for the ministry, and selected, as the place of his training, the Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Allegheny (now Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania. A scholarship from the Presbyterian Board of Education enabled him to go.

III

AN UNPROFITABLE MEMBER

ON DECEMBER 21, 1855, Schereschewsky entered the Western Theological Seminary. Evidently feeling that his family name was too un-American, he registered as "Samuel I. Joseph." He thus appears in the matriculation book and the annual catalog for 1855-6. But something during his first year must have decided him to resume his full name, for in the next year's catalog and the next, he is "Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky."

Early in 1858, after just a little more than two years in the Seminary, he announced to the faculty his intention to withdraw in order to enter the Episcopal Church and the General Theological Seminary. He had, meanwhile, become the friend of the Rev. Dr. Theodore B. Lyman, Rector of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, later Bishop of North Carolina. Whether this friendship was the cause of Schereschewsky's interest in the Episcopal Church or the result of it, we do not know.

When he told his teachers of his intended departure he asked them for a certificate of his standing. At a meeting on February 1st, at which all were present, they unanimously adopted a minute to the following

effect: "That his intercourse with his fellow students has been friendly, his behavior in the classroom always respectful to the professors, and his diligence in study exemplary," but that his determination to enter another seminary had been made known under such circumstances that it "has nearly, if not quite, destroyed all our confidence in his candor, fairness, disingenuousness, prudence, honor, and stability."

They then listed seven reasons for this loss of confidence in him, all of which relate to the fact that he now said that his doubts about certain points in Calvinistic theology and Presbyterian church government had begun about a year before, but that he had not until the present revealed them to the faculty or to the Presbytery of Allegheny City, which had licensed him within four months, or to the Presbyterian Board of Education, which had given him a scholarship during his entire course, or to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, to whom he had, within the past year, applied for an appointment. They concluded that "until he gives some proof of a great change, the faculty cannot regard him as a profitable member of any seminary."

The notation in the records of the Board of Education is more laconic: "Jew—dropped by order—gone to the Episcopalians for a time."

The truth of the situation was that Schereschewsky had been passing through a period of hesitation and unsettlement for several months, and, knowing the strong attachment of his teachers to Presbyterian-

ism, felt it useless to confer with them as to his doubts about it. Moreover, his license from the Allegheny City Presbytery had been received and his offer of himself to the Presbyterian Board of Missions for work in India had been made before, not after, his doubts had become settled. As for the scholarship aid, he said he would, as far as it should be in his power, repay it.

Dr. Lyman was convinced that Schereschewsky had acted honorably, and sent him off, with a commendation of his "integrity" and "unblamable character," to become a candidate for the ministry under Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, who had formerly been Dr. Lyman's diocesan as well as his teacher in seminary. Dr. Lyman also sent the Bishop a copy of the faculty minute. The Bishop "carefully perpended" "the extraordinary document," as he called the minute, and, on reading what Dr. Lyman had to say about it, and hearing Schereschewsky's own statement, was entirely satisfied; but, for Schereschewsky's own sake "and," he said, "the preservation of his character intact for his future ministry," thought it best "to sift the thing to the bottom at once." He wisely sent Schereschewsky back to Pittsburgh with a written request to Dr. Lyman to confront him with the President of the Seminary and to obtain the testimony of the students there.

This Dr. Lyman did and, not content with his own satisfaction with the results, laid them before two of his most trusted advisers among the laity. "There was

but one opinion among them all—that Mr. Schereschewsky's character had come out of the investigation totally uninjured. . . . His fellow students volunteered strong testimonials in his behalf, . . . while the President of the Seminary owned that he had offered Mr. Schereschewsky unqualified testimonials on condition of his going to Kenyon College or the Virginia Seminary, or to any other institution except the Puseyite affair in New York."

It was, however, to "the Puseyite affair in New York" that he went. Both Dr. Lyman and Bishop Whittingham were graduates of it, and the Bishop had been Professor of Ecclesiastical History there before his election to the episcopate in 1840. But Schereschewsky did not go immediately. Evidently Bishop Whittingham wanted to know him a little better before accepting him as a candidate for the ministry. He had him go into residence at the College of St. James, a Church college founded by the Bishop in 1842 near Hagerstown, Maryland, and removed in 1857 to Gunpowder Falls, about twenty miles from Baltimore. The Rev. John B. Kerfoot, later Bishop of Pittsburgh, was its head from its opening till its dissolution in 1864. Here Schereschewsky lived, presumably pursuing his studies, from March, 1858, until his entrance into the General Theological Seminary at the beginning of October; at which time the Bishop said of him that he had "acquired the esteem and confidence of the rector and faculty, and a

good report of all the inmates of the institution." He had been accepted as a candidate on May 28th.

To his former teacher, colleague, and friend, Dr. Samuel H. Turner, Professor of Biblical Learning at the General Seminary, Bishop Whittingham commended Schereschewsky: "He brings to you a more than ordinary amount of various learning, especially Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Rabbinic. . . . He has, I think, an active and inquiring mind. . . . He bids fair, if *well trained and disciplined*, to be hereafter useful in a way and degree to which we do not often find men capable of aspiring."

Schereschewsky was admitted to the middle class of the Seminary, the plan being that he spend two years there; but before half the first year had passed Bishop Boone had come and Schereschewsky had decided to offer himself for work in China. Both Dr. Turner and the Bishop agreed that it would be better for him to go out with the Bishop in the coming summer than to spend another year in New York.

As early as February 19, 1859, Dr. Turner wrote to the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions that Schereschewsky had expressed "a strong desire to *devote his whole life* to the China Mission," adding that he was here using Schereschewsky's own words. He went on to say that Schereschewsky had "given evidence of more than ordinary talents. . . . He is thoroughly conversant with Hebrew, reads the Greek Testament very well and thoughtfully, is familiar with German, and, like many northern Europeans,

has great facility in acquiring languages. His knowledge of English is quite accurate and he has evidently read much in that tongue. With such capabilities and such resources he might become an important acquisition to our China Mission."

Dr. Turner also said that, knowing that "converts from other denominations are apt to run into opposite extremes," he had examined him on his entrance to the Seminary with this in view, but had neither then nor since "seen in him any indication of attachment to ultra or extravagant views on ecclesiastical topics."

On April 10, 1859, Schereschewsky sent his formal application to the Foreign Committee, presumably after they had indicated to Dr. Turner their inclination to receive it favorably. "The undersigned," he said, "humbly petitions the Foreign Committee to be appointed by them as a missionary to China. He is about twenty-seven years of age and in the enjoyment of good health. He is a native of Tauroggen, a town in Russia, and of Hebrew parentage. He has been in this country a little over four years. . . . He received his education in Rabbinical institutions in his native country and has been studying Christian theology for the last three years. . . . Although brought up in a hostile religion he has been a believer in the life-giving verities of Christianity for at least seven years, although he did not make a public and formal profession of his belief in the Saviour of the world before his arrival in this country. . . . He hopes the Foreign Committee will count him worthy of an appoint-

ment to this work and prays that the Master may own his intention to serve Him . . . and give him grace to become a true and faithful servant in His cause."

On May 3, 1859, the Foreign Committee voted that he be appointed missionary to China as soon as he was ordained.

Late in life Schereschewsky told a friend that it was intimated to him that if he would stay in this country he might look forward to a teaching position at the General Seminary, and that Dr. Mahan, of the faculty there, expressed some surprise that anyone with his abilities should want to go to China. He replied that he wanted to go to China to translate the Bible into Chinese.

IV

NINE HOURS A DAY

ON JULY 7, 1859, in St. George's Church, New York, Schereschewsky was ordained deacon by Bishop Boone. At the same service three of the recently appointed missionaries from the Virginia Seminary likewise received deacons orders, among them Elliot Heber Thomson, destined to a long and distinguished career in China and a lifelong friendship with Schereschewsky. The sermon, by Professor Sparrow of Virginia, was, said the current *Church Journal*, "a very long and highly elaborate discourse." The text, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel," afforded the Professor an opportunity to make clear exactly what the Gospel was, and this he did by giving "a full epitome of the whole course of systematic divinity as taught at Alexandria"!

Surviving this, Bishop Boone and his party set sail July 13th from New York on the clipper-ship *Golden Rule*. On the 26th, at a point in the Atlantic midway between Savannah and the coast of Africa—for the *Golden Rule* was headed southeast around the Cape of Good Hope—they passed a vessel homeward bound, which, according to the custom of the day, stopped to take back mail to America. The Bishop had

time for only a brief note: "We are all, by God's blessing, well. We commenced with full class the study of Chinese this morning, and our prospects are fair in every respect. Ship well found; captain and officers as obliging as they can be."

"Many of our number made excellent progress in Chinese," wrote the Bishop on arrival in Shanghai; as well they might, for the voyage lasted almost half a year. "This study," he added, "was found an invaluable resource to keep off ennui." There is a tradition that Schereschewsky, on landing, astonished native teachers by his ability to write good classical Chinese.

At one p.m. on December 21, 1859, the *Golden Rule* arrived at Wusung, "twenty-three weeks to the hour," as the Bishop said, "from the time of our departure from New York." They had been becalmed a month in the Southern Ocean and had touched land but once—in the Indian Archipelago. Otherwise the voyage had been an excellent one, and on the 22nd the newcomers, in good health and spirits, went ashore in Shanghai. Schereschewsky and two of his companions were put up with the Boones.

The high hopes with which they had begun their voyage, that they would find China at peace with the world and open to missionary endeavor, were sadly dashed. Three weeks before they left New York, though the news had not then reached America, the British fleet, on its way to Tientsin, bringing Queen Victoria's ratification of the treaty of 1858, had been fired on by the Chinese from the Taku forts at the

mouth of the Peiho. This led to the renewal of war between China and the Franco-British Allies, not to be terminated till the following October. Meanwhile, the Taiping rebels, taking advantage of the withdrawal of Chinese armies to defend Peking, swarmed over the Yangtze valley. In June, 1860, Bishop Boone wrote: "In this province the government seems wholly overthrown, the people have lost all confidence in the power of the mandarins to protect them, and things are in a state of complete anarchy." On August 18, 1860, the rebels advanced on Shanghai, but five days later were repulsed by foreign troops. They continued, however, to ravage the surrounding country.

Although extension of mission work into the interior was, under these circumstances, obviously impossible, the newly arrived missionaries were not prevented from doing the one thing needful, namely, continuing their study of the language. On April 5, 1860, Schereschewsky wrote his first report to the Board of Missions. "With the study of the Chinese language," he said, "I have been almost exclusively occupied since we left New York." He went on to observe that "the first thing which a foreign missionary has earnestly to strive at is a competent knowledge of the language. . . . I mean such a knowledge as would enable one to express himself intelligibly and clearly." This may seem axiomatic, but he had discovered, as anyone acquainted at first hand with missions in China invariably discovers, that there are always some missionaries, impatient at the rigorous

discipline required in getting the Chinese tongue, who think it their duty to preach before they have gotten it.

Schereschewsky puts the case somewhat cautiously: "There have, indeed, been missionaries who, almost immediately after their arrival, having picked up a few broken phrases, commenced, as they supposed, to preach the Gospel to the heathen, but which preaching most likely consisted in nothing more than uttering some sounds wholly unintelligible to the hearers. . . . It can fairly be asserted that preaching the Gospel in such a manner is exhibiting a zeal without much knowledge. . . . The Gospel of Christ is to be made honorable in every respect. . . . Now, to preach . . . in an incomprehensible gibberish to such a people as the Chinese, who, perhaps, more than any other people, are fastidious about language, is anything but making it honorable.

"In my humble opinion it will require at least eighteen months' very hard study before one would be enabled to express himself on any topic, not belonging to the routine of common life, intelligibly and clearly in a foreign tongue. This is true with reference to all other languages—some of the easy European languages, perhaps, excepted—but more especially is this the case with regard to the Chinese language. . . . I say Chinese *language*; I should rather say the Chinese *languages*, for really one desiring to become usefully familiar with the speech of China has to study at least two, if not three distinct languages. [There is]

the dialect of the place where he is destined immediately to work; [there is the Mandarin dialect,] which is the colloquial of some provinces, and which is spoken by all the officials and, more or less, also by merchants and literary men all over the empire; [finally there is the literary or book language.] A missionary without a respectable knowledge of the book language of China . . . could not reasonably expect to have any access to the educated Chinese. . . . Besides, the Chinese literary language is the embodiment of the Chinese mind."

He speaks of the difficulty met with in the spoken dialects—the absence of anything that we would call grammar, the prodigious number of words which sound alike, the fine, and to the Western ear sometimes impossible, distinctions of inflection or tone—all of which he finds easy in comparison to the difficulties of the literary language, in which "there are as many distinct signs as there are ideas, particles, and proper names in the whole range of Chinese literature. These amount, according to the adepts in the language, to some fifty or sixty thousand. It is true that one-fourth, or even fifth, of this number will be quite sufficient to answer all practical purposes, but think even of eight or ten thousand different characters to be committed to memory! It really looks very formidable. However, many have acquired a good knowledge of the Chinese written language, and, so far as I can judge, it can be acquired by persons of ordinary capacity; but *extraordinary* diligence

is something which cannot be dispensed with; great patience and perseverance are most necessary. A missionary who has gone out or wants to go out to China must fully make up his mind to be engaged, the first five years at least, in very laborious study. It is very hard work, but it must be done."

"Extraordinary diligence," "great patience and perseverance," capacity for hard work—here was a true self-portrait; to which should be added an almost uncanny ability to concentrate on the task in hand to the exclusion of everything else.

"My first acquaintance with Mr. Schereschewsky," wrote the great Presbyterian missionary and scholar, the Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, thirty-five years later, "was in Shanghai soon after his arrival in China. I remember on one occasion [in 1860] calling upon him when he was living in the church in the native city. He had not left the building for a week, but had been engaged night and day in reading a very celebrated work in Chinese, *The Three Kingdoms*. In this way, by unremitting study, he laid the foundation for that eminent Chinese scholarship for which he is so distinguished."

Bishop Huntington of Anking tells how, when as a young missionary he went to China on the steamer in which Schereschewsky was returning thither, the aged scholar said, "People ask me how to learn Chinese. I know only one way—nine hours a day."

When another young missionary, now Bishop Roots of Hankow, arrived in Shanghai, he called on

Schereschewsky, then recognized as one of the most learned of living Sinologues, and expressed his doubts that he could ever really learn Chinese. "Have no fear," replied the old man, "learn one word a day, and you'll get it."

To less earnest students who complained of the difficulties of the language, he would exclaim, with some irritation: "You think Chinese difficult? You ought to try Mongolian!" Which, as we shall see, was what he did himself. At first, however, his study was confined to three Chinese languages, the Shanghai colloquial, the Mandarin, and the literary language or Wenli.

That he might have better opportunity for language study, he decided, early in 1860, to move from the Mission headquarters in Hongkew, at that time a country suburb, into the city, where, with Thomson, he kept house in rooms off the gallery of Christ Church. It was here, as we have seen, that Dr. Martin found him. Bachelor housekeeping was not without its amusing side. The Chinese servant was untrained in the ways of foreigners, so when Thomson and Schereschewsky wanted American food they had to consult a cookbook. Sometimes it was harder to understand the cookbook than to instruct the cook. When they looked up soup, for instance, they were told to use "stock." But neither of them had the vaguest notion of what "stock" was.

When Thomson preached his first sermon in Chinese he hoped to do so without Schereschewsky's

knowledge, but the latter got wind of it and quietly slipped into the gallery of the church. To his dying day Thomson recalled how he quailed when he saw him there. But he never repeated Schereschewsky's comment on the sermon.

On October 28, 1860, Thomson, Schereschewsky, and Dudley D. Smith, who had been ordered deacon together in New York, were ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Boone in the mission school chapel, later known as the Church of our Saviour, Hongkew.

The missionaries were asked by the Board to make periodic reports of their "daily proceedings as missionaries." On January 5, 1861, Schereschewsky wrote: "These 'daily proceedings' are very much the same as they were when I reported last. They as yet consist chiefly in the study of the Chinese language. . . . I have already spent a whole year in the missionary field and am not as yet able to report anything of *actual* missionary work which I could regard as really worth reporting. . . . I must confess this consideration makes me feel rather uncomfortable. However, . . . the preparatory work is indispensable, and thus far I have striven to do this work as best I could. Besides this, . . . I have under my superintendence a day school . . . in which instruction in native classics and in Christian books is daily imparted to some dozen boys. And I may also mention that at the request of the Bishop I am now attempting to render the Psalms into the Shanghai colloquial."



Photo by the Author.

A CHINESE JUNK

Similar to the kind used by the explorers
of the upper Yangtze

V

BRIGANDS AND HOLY MEN

IN 1858 Lord Elgin had steamed up the Yangtze to Hankow. Early in 1861 the British Vice-Admiral, Sir James Hope, planned to explore the river some distance farther, and two British Army officers on leave, Major (shortly Lieutenant-Colonel) Henry A. Sarel, 17th Lancers, and Captain Thomas W. Blakiston, R. A., conceived the idea of going up with the Admiral as far as he would take them and then on beyond to the western confines of China, through Tibet, and across the Himalayas into India. They were joined by Dr. Alfred Barton, a physician, and the three defrayed the expenses of the expedition.

"Our great difficulty," writes Blakiston, "was to engage the services of a competent interpreter, and this in the short space of time at our disposal for preparations we found impossible. At the eleventh hour, however, through the mediation of Bishop Boone, the Rev. Mr. Schereschewsky agreed to form one of our party." He gave his services gratuitously. "I have," wrote Bishop Boone to the Board of Missions, "cheerfully given my consent to his going. . . . The expedition will serve to perfect Mr. Schereschewsky's speaking of the Chinese, enlarge his mis-

sionary range, and I hope give much interesting information to the Christian world."

The party, composed of the four gentlemen already named, Schereschewsky's Chinese teacher, three Chinese servants, and four Sikhs, Sepoys of the 11th Punjab Infantry, embarked at Shanghai, February 11, 1861, on H. M. S. *Attalante*, one of the fleet of eight vessels with which Admiral Hope began the voyage. Not far from Kiukiang they were transferred to the *Couper*. Navigation of the Yangtze was more difficult than the Admiral had bargained for, and one or another of his boats periodically ran aground. The time consumed in getting them afloat again, plus a stay of six days at Chinkiang and another of the same length at Nanking, lengthened the trip to Hankow to exactly one month. The visit to Nanking, headquarters of the Taiping rebels, enabled the party to gain a first-hand acquaintance with these extraordinary people, who, because of their idol-smashing campaign, their worship of one God, and their profession of a curiously garbled version of Christianity, had excited much interest and, in the beginning of their movement, not a little sympathy on the part of Christian missionaries in China.

Nature, said Schereschewsky, at Nanking is "very beautiful, and 'only man is vile,' indeed viler than I in the least supposed. I have now a decidedly bad opinion of the Taiping insurgents. Since I have come in contact with them and seen with my own eyes

what they really are, I have come to the conclusion that they are utterly unworthy of any Christian sympathy. The spurious Christianity which they pretend to profess, besides its horrid blasphemies, does not seem to have produced in them the slightest moral effect for the better. . . . All the regions they have overrun are perfect deserts. It is impossible to form an idea of the ruinous condition of the places held by them, if not personally seen. No trade, no agriculture, nor any other element of even well-organized heathen society are to be met with in the places occupied by these pseudo-Christian insurgents. It is positively preposterous to call them, as some do, 'the regenerators of China.'"

As to his duties as interpreter, he wrote, just before reaching Hankow, "I have thus far found little difficulty in getting on with the natives on the score of language. A little Shanghai colloquial and a little Mandarin will carry one through this whole region."

The cities at the mouth of the Han had not yet recovered from the effects of Taiping occupation. Their combined population, Schereschewsky thought, could not be more than one hundred thousand. Of the three, "Hankow is fast recovering, Hanyang in complete ruins, and Wuchang better preserved than any other town on the banks of the Yangtze." The latter was, he said, "quite a clean place" and had broader streets than many other Chinese towns. Hankow, which was, in early March, partly under water, he deemed likely to be too unhealthy for a mission station. Kiukiang,

a hundred miles or more nearer Shanghai, he suggested as a better place for this purpose. It was healthier than Hankow, and the people there were friendly to foreigners.

The Admiral decided to proceed beyond Hankow with but one small gunboat and his flag-ship, on neither of which was there enough room for the explorers, but he offered to take them in tow. They engaged an eighty-foot junk and, on March 13th, with their hawser fast to the flag-ship *Coromandel*, left Hankow. They were, as Captain Blakiston put it, "a greater distance into the interior than any undisguised foreigner had yet penetrated." The disguised foreigners alluded to were French Jesuits who had gone into the interior, wearing clothes and queues like the Chinese and making not a few converts, although they dared not publicly to profess either their nationality or their religion.

On March 16th they reached Yochow, at the entrance to the Tungting Lake, about 750 miles from Shanghai. Here the Admiral turned back. The explorers proceeded up the Yangtze under sail and oar, changing at Ichang into a smaller junk, in which they were hauled through the gorges.

Finding themselves cramped for room, they secured a second junk at Kweichowfu in Szechwan, and Dr. Barton and Schereschewsky took up their quarters on that. At several places in this province they contemplated leaving the river and striking overland for Chengtu, the capital, whence they hoped

to enter Tibet, but in each case local officials warned them of ways beset by rebels, and advised continuing on up the Yangtze. This they did, carefully surveying and mapping its course, swimming in it every evening just before sundown, occasionally hunting on its banks, presenting copies of the treaty of 1858 to the mandarins, none of whom had as yet heard of it, and conversing with leading citizens about products and trade.

The rebels, of whom they learned more the farther inland they went, had no connection with the Taipings. They were simply brigands, whose ways differed little from those of the imperial troops which, here and there, were supposed to be protecting the country against them. At Suifu, when the explorers sent a message to the chief mandarin or Prefect, asking an interview, he replied that they could only enter the city by being hauled up the wall by a rope, since he dared not open the gates lest the troops encamped outside to keep off the rebels would rush in and pillage!

They frequently met native Roman Catholic Christians who sometimes made themselves known by the sign of the cross. At Hulin they came upon a whole village of them. Their coming thither had been heralded by boats which had preceded them from Wanh sien, where, two days before, they had been visited with much pomp by the commander-in-chief of Eastern Szechwan. The junk which carried Dr. Barton and Schereschewsky arrived at Hulin some

time before the other, and their reception was thus described by the doctor:

"As we neared the village the banks became lined with people dressed in all their best; while others, more eager to welcome us, came off in small boats and crowded on board to bow before us. It was in vain that Mr. Schereschewsky told them that we were men like unto themselves, and that it was very wrong to do so; their reply was always that we were the Holy Men from the Western Ocean, who had first brought the glad tidings, and respect and reverence were due to us.

"Sedan chairs were in waiting, and we landed under an imperial salute of three guns, while crackers and fireworks were let off without number. No common coolies carried our chairs, but the gentlemen of the place, who disputed among themselves for this honor; and as we passed through the narrow crowded streets fireworks and bombs were exploded by a procession in front, almost suffocating us with the smoke. We found their chapel to be a miserable building containing the usual Romish decorations; but they told us that the mandarins had recently destroyed their little church and that they had not yet the heart to rebuild it. In spite of our remonstrances these proselytes prostrated themselves before us, bumping their foreheads three times on the ground, considering it a great privilege, and repeatedly asking our blessing. Mr. Schereschewsky tried to explain to them the difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants,

but they could not understand it, saying that we all worshipped the same Jesus Christ and His Mother. On returning to our boats they loaded us with presents of sweet cakes and other Chinese dainties, and begged us to report to the Bishop of Chungking the shameful treatment they had received from the mandarins."

Every night the explorers tied up to the bank, and as this was frequently in the neighborhood of a settlement they immediately became the objects of curious observation. Their ways of eating excited the wonder of the inhabitants, and dinner always drew a large audience. For the most part the people were friendly and the mandarins polite. At Kinchow one of the latter brought his children, wife, mother, and grandmother to see them.

At Chungking the militia behaved in an ugly, threatening manner, and a French missionary in the city sent them a warning that if they came ashore, the soldiers planned to murder them and plunder their boats. Repeated demands were made on the Governor for protection, and on the third day after their arrival he provided an adequate escort. Leaving Dr. Barton and the Sikhs to guard the boats, the two military members of the party and Schereschewsky proceeded to visit the yamen and the house of the French missionaries, of whom they found three in the city, and with whom they dined in the friendliest fashion. The Frenchmen dressed and lived in the Chinese

manner, and "looked upon traveling through China in European costume as a very bold undertaking."

In a letter written after his return to Shanghai, Schereschewsky said that it was peculiarly gratifying to him to have been the first Protestant¹ missionary to reach the western confines of China. "I say first *Protestant* missionary," he added, "for missionaries of the Church of Rome you will meet in almost every important town. They have succeeded, as it appears, in gathering a considerable number of converts. I met with native Roman Catholics almost everywhere. In some places they formed a large proportion of the population. I cannot but think that the Church of Rome displays an uncommon amount of activity and energy in the conversion of the heathen—much more in proportion, I am persuaded, than is displayed by our own Church. It is a great pity that the true Church should not at least be as zealous to spread the whole truth as the corrupt Church of Rome is to propagate her doctrines and superstitions."

When the explorers came to the mouth of the Min River, up which they might have gone a considerable distance toward Chengtu, there were so many evidences of rebel activity to the north, in the shape of headless bodies floating down the Min, that nothing would induce their boatmen to ascend. Hence they

¹ Although Schereschewsky thought and spoke of the Episcopal Church as Catholic, he never hesitated to call it Protestant in contradistinction to Roman Catholicism. In this he followed the High Anglican tradition represented, for example, by Archbishop Laud.

continued on the Yangtze to Pingshan. Here, when the Prefect told them that neither coolies nor ponies could be secured for an overland journey, they decided to settle and wait till they could. Whereupon a delegation of citizens pleaded with them not to do so, since, they said, as soon as the rebels heard of their presence in the town they would attack it in order to seize their valuables. When the explorers assured them that they intended to stay nevertheless, they were warned that unless they left, their boats would be fired on. The firing opened in due time from the city wall and continued for an hour and a half. Although the boats were well within range, not a single shot came anywhere near, which led them to suspect that perhaps nothing more than powder had been expended in the bombardment.

That night, however, they were aroused by a grand commotion, to discover that the rebels were indeed assaulting the town. They moved two miles down the river, and as there was now not the faintest chance of inducing their boatmen or anyone else to accompany them on further exploration either by water or land, they reluctantly gave over their plan of traversing Tibet, and started back to Shanghai.

They had reached Pingshan, 1800 miles from the coast, on May 25, 1861, almost fifteen weeks from the day they left Shanghai. Thanks to the current of the Yangtze, their return journey took about a third of that time. It began on May 30th and ended in Shanghai on July 9th.

In addition to the knowledge of Chinese life, language, and geography which Schereschewsky gained, his daily association for five months with three British laymen, all of whom appear to have been fellows of nerve, dash, and resource, must have been peculiarly wholesome for one with a tendency to scholarly retirement. And when we recall that at the time he was just thirty, Captain Blakiston twenty-nine, and the other members of the party presumably of about the same age, the whole adventure could have been nothing less than a magnificent lark.

VI

AMERICAN LEGATION

IT WAS sometime in February, 1861, that, in the words of Bishop Boone, "the mournful intelligence of the political disturbances in our native land" reached China. This referred to the beginnings of the Secession movement. Word of actual hostilities did not come until the middle of June. But the earlier news was accompanied by the timely warning that all possible retrenchment in missionary expenses must be made.

What with the cessation of contributions from the churches in the seceded states, the reduced contributions from those in the North, and the fall in the value of the dollar in foreign exchange, the Board of Missions almost ceased—in fact, for three of the four years of the Civil War, did cease—sending funds to China. This necessitated the closing of the mission schools, the sale of one of the buildings and the letting of others; it also meant a drastic sifting of the missionaries. "I have never had so sad a heart to undertake my annual report," wrote Bishop Boone in 1861; and the years immediately following did little to gladden it. Of the twelve volunteers who had arrived in December, 1859, only two, Thomson and Schereschew-

sky, were left in April, 1863. Eight had returned to America, one, Mrs. Dudley D. Smith, had died of cholera, and another, the Rev. Henry M. Parker, had been murdered by rebels in Shantung, where an attempt had been made to establish a new mission station. Bishop Boone thought for a while of stationing Schereschewsky in Shantung, but gave up the plan when an opportunity offered in 1862 of sending him to Peking.

Although the treaties of 1858 had, at least theoretically, opened China to Christianity, Peking, the capital, was, in 1862, still closed to public mission work other than that of Roman Catholics, which, thanks to French diplomacy, was permitted. It was hoped that before long missionaries of other Churches would be similarly recognized. Meanwhile, in order even to reside in Peking, they had to be attached in some way to one of the legations. Thus an English missionary physician, Dr. William Lockhart, had entered Peking in 1861 as medical officer of the British legation and opened a mission hospital on the legation premises; and early in 1862 an English clergyman, the Rev. John Shaw Burdon, came as quasi-chaplain to the same legation. Hence when the chance came for Schereschewsky to accompany the new American Minister, the Hon. Anson Burlingame, to Peking as interpreter, it was seized with alacrity. It might open the way for the establishment of a mission center in the capital; it would relieve the penniless Mission, for a time, of the responsibility for Scher-

eschewsky's support; it would enable him to perfect himself in the Mandarin dialect, of which Peking was the fountain head. "He is well calculated," said Bishop Boone, "to have influence among the literary class."

Schereschewsky left Shanghai on July 2, 1862, with Mr. Burlingame and Dr. S. Wells Williams, secretary to the legation. They reached Peking on the 20th, having spent some days in Tientsin, where Schereschewsky met the Rev. Henry Blodget of the American (Congregational) Board, who was shortly to become his associate in translation. Twenty years later Schereschewsky spoke of him as "the most intimate friend that I have had in China."

Visitors to Peking at this time were impressed by the grand scale on which the city was laid out, its high walls, its wide streets, its spacious dwellings, and its innumerable trees, concealing half the roofs in "a perfect forest of verdure" as one looked down from the walls. But the "stinking pits, dusty ways, and loathsome beggars, seen when one descends from the walls, . . . take away a great portion of the pleasant impression." Horse carts rather than sedan chairs afforded means of getting about, and caravans of camels, never seen in South China, filled the streets. The climate was invigorating, and the people larger and hardier than those in the south. Public buildings were in a state of dilapidation; neglected temples, streets blocked with refuse, "carts jolting from slab to slab or sinking nearly half a yard in ruts worn out of the unrepaired pavement," revealed the impoverishment

and carelessness of the government. It was not until after the Boxer Uprising of 1900 that the streets were graded and the filth and rubbish of the centuries carted away. Yet, as Henry Blodget wrote in 1862, "Pekin is a fine city, by far the finest city in China."

The officials were personally friendly, and there was the utmost liberty in going about. The Americans, on their arrival, stayed at the French legation, but were soon allotted houses by the Chinese government. Schereschewsky had quarters in that assigned to Dr. Williams who, in November, went south to get his family at Macao and was away for seven months, during which Schereschewsky took his place in the legation. During this time the English clergyman, Burdon, also came to live in Williams' dwelling, as did Blodget, during a two months' residence in Peking. Early in 1864 Blodget settled in Peking permanently. Schereschewsky's association with these men resulted, as we shall see, in two joint translation projects of first importance.

On Williams' return with his family, Schereschewsky lived for a while with Burdon, in a house which the latter had purchased for the English Church Missionary Society, and then in a house which he himself purchased in behalf of his own Mission in September, 1863.

It was not until after the middle of that year that the restrictions on non-Roman missions in the capital were removed. As late as the end of April Schereschewsky was "still very much trammelled from any

outward work by the mandarins," but by September Burdon had opened a boys' school in which, during the following months, Schereschewsky had more than one opportunity to preach. Early in the next year he opened a school of his own. By that time he had also begun his translation work, and was engaged in the study of Mongolian.

On October 14, 1864, he described at some length to the Board of Missions his activities in Peking:

"During the first year of my residence here I acted partly as Chinese Secretary to the United States legation—the secretary of legation, Dr. Williams, being in the south of China—and partly in learning the Peking dialect. During my official connection with the legation I had many opportunities of coming in contact with some of the highest authorities in China. I frankly told them, on several occasions, that I was a Protestant missionary and that my object in coming to this place was to preach to the people the religion of Jesus. They did not seem to be displeased with the idea; they were rather complimentary to Protestant missionaries, whilst they expressed themselves in a decidedly hostile tone of the Romish propagandists. One of the highest mandarins told me that the Chinese government had not much objection to Protestant missionaries establishing themselves anywhere, seeing that their only object seems to be to exhort the people to be good; whereas the Roman Catholic missionaries seem to endeavor to create a political party in the Empire, and to alienate more or less the natives

from their allegiance to their natural sovereign; and, moreover, by assuming the title and state of high mandarins, are dividing the obedience of those whom they have converted.

"The Roman Catholic missionaries are certainly much hated. If the Chinese government had not the fear of the French before its eyes, not one of them would be allowed to remain in the land. . . . Protestant missionaries are now carrying on their work in this city without any let or hindrance."

"As to my work here . . . for some time past I have been preaching in the chapel belonging to the English Church Missionary Society, which is situated in a populous part of the city and where a considerable number of people come in to hear. . . . Mr. Burdon and myself have jointly translated the most important portions of the Prayer Book into the Mandarin dialect, which I am now using every Sunday in the chapel. I am, besides, engaged in translating the Scriptures into the same Mandarin dialect, that is, the general spoken language of the Chinese empire. . . . Several missionaries residing in this place, both English and American, have formed themselves into a committee to translate, as soon as possible, the New Testament into the Mandarin. Of this committee I have the honor of being a member. . . . The Gospels and the Acts are nearly ready for publication.

"The Old Testament has chiefly been assigned to me, owing to my familiarity with the Hebrew. I have nearly finished Genesis and the Psalms, and I hope to

be able to publish those portions of the Bible within a year. The missionaries here are urging me to devote myself almost entirely to the translation of the whole of the Old Testament. They tell me . . . that I ought to regard it as my special call in this country until this work is done. . . . Being a Jew by birth and having enjoyed in my earlier years a good Jewish education, I know Hebrew better than any other language. As to my knowledge of the Chinese, I hope I possess the average knowledge of it of most missionaries."

A few months after this modest appraisal of his own proficiency in Chinese, Thomson wrote from Shanghai: "I am told by a gentleman who is just down from Peking that Mr. Schereschewsky is the finest Chinese speaker at Peking and that he is very much liked by the Chinese." "His school," added Thomson, "I am sorry to hear, was broken up for a time by the reports which some ill-disposed Chinese raised that the foreigners were going to kidnap all the children."

The committee for the translation of the New Testament, of which Schereschewsky speaks, was formed in the autumn of 1864 at his suggestion. It consisted of himself and four others, the English clergyman, Burdon, the American Congregationalist, Blodget, the English Congregationalist, Joseph Edkins, and the American Presbyterian, W. A. P. Martin. Burdon had come to Peking shortly before Schereschewsky, the others not long after, but they were all his seniors in years and in experience in China.

It was a remarkable group. Burdon, in 1874,

became Bishop of Victoria, Hongkong, a see which included all the missions of the Church of England in South China. Edkins was one of the most learned Chinese scholars of his day, author of grammars of the Mandarin and Shanghai dialects and of half a dozen volumes on China in English. Martin became President of the government diplomatic school in Peking in 1869 and of the Imperial University in 1898. He translated or composed books in Chinese on religion, psychology, physics, history, and international law, and has to his credit at least as many volumes in English on things Chinese as Edkins. Blodget was, as Martin called him, an "unmitered bishop," leading for thirty years with tact and wisdom the Mission of the American Board in Peking. He was a rare spirit, "noted," as Martin justly said, "as a man whom nature, grace, and culture combined to form a model missionary."

The Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions expressed its approval of Schereschewsky's devoting practically his entire energies to the Mandarin Old Testament, and at the same time asked him some questions "concerning the nature and importance of the work, and the principles which he proposed to adopt in making the translation."

"I propose," he replied, "to translate the Old Testament into the so-called Mandarin dialect. This dialect is in fact the general language of China. In three-fourths of the Empire it is, with more or less modification, the common speech of both mandarins

and people. And in those regions where peculiar dialects are spoken, it is generally understood by the educated classes, and is, moreover, the official language throughout the whole empire. . . . From this it will be easily perceived that a version of the Scriptures into this dialect is almost beyond comparison in point of importance and usefulness to versions into other dialects. . . . It will really be the Scripture in the living spoken language of the country." As he said later, Mandarin "is spoken by more human beings than any other language in the world."

On the vexed question as to what Chinese term should be used for God he wrote at length. Missionary opinion on this subject was at the time—and still is—divided. Some favored *Shang Ti*; some *Shin*; some *T'ien Chu*. Schereschewsky was unalterably opposed to *Shang Ti*; which, as the name of the chief deity in the Chinese pantheon was, he said, no more appropriate for the Christian God than Jupiter or Baal. He found less objection to *Shin*, although, as he observed, the Chinese language "having no sign to designate number and gender, nor anything like a definite article, nor any grammatical means by which to distinguish between an abstract and a concrete noun, between a noun and an adjective, *Shin* may equally mean God, gods, goddesses, deity, and divine." He preferred *T'ien Chu*, "Lord of Heaven," a term coined long before by the Roman Catholics, which had become naturalized in the Chinese language, adopted by the missionaries of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and

avored by a few Protestants. Most of the latter, however, opposed it chiefly because it was used by the Romanists. "Why," asked Schereschewsky, "should we Protestants speak another language with reference to the Being whom we adore in common?" "This term is of established usage, and has never been used in an idolatrous sense."

As to how far he would follow modern criticism, he replied that he would do so "only so far as it concerns itself with pure philological questions. In all points where dogmatical questions are involved I propose to follow the orthodox received interpretation, or, in other words, to adhere strictly to the interpretation of the Church."

In reply to the query if he would adopt the English version as the standard of translation, he said that although he regarded that as one of the best translations extant, he was "resolved to adhere to the Hebrew original as much as the nature of the Chinese language will possibly admit."

VII

THE JEWS OF KAIFENG FU

WITH the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion in 1864 and the cessation of the American Civil War in the following year, things might have looked brighter for the Mission in China, had it not been left without a head, by the death, in July, 1864, of Bishop Boone.

Schereschewsky wrote to the Rev. Dr. Samuel D. Denison, secretary of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions, that he hoped and prayed that the Church would send a successor who, in prudence, learning, piety, and weight of character, would be worthy of Bishop Boone, one who, like him, would be "an honor to our Church both in the sight of native and foreigner." He added that he did not believe that this could be predicated of any missionary returned or in China, and he hoped that the Church would not select a bishop from among them. The Church, at the General Convention of 1865, chose Channing Moore Williams, who had gone to China in 1856 but had been transferred to Japan in 1859. He was elected Bishop for China with jurisdiction over the Mission in Japan. He was consecrated in 1866, but delayed his return to the Orient

in order to attend the first Lambeth Conference in 1867. He did not arrive in China until January, 1868.

Meanwhile, the chief burden of the mission work at Shanghai had been borne by Thomson and his Chinese helpers, especially the Rev. K. C. Wong, the first Chinese presbyter of the Episcopal Church. Schereschewsky came down from Peking in July, 1865, and spent most of the rest of the year in Shanghai, taking the English sermons at the mission chapel, instructing one of the catechists who was looking toward the ministry, and revising his translation of Genesis, which was ready for the press in January, 1866. It was published that year; his translation of the Psalms the next.

After his return to Peking he was joined (in August, 1866) by the first recruit for the Mission since 1859, the Rev. Augustus C. Höhing, formerly a minister of the German Reformed Church. He proved to be a difficult person to get along with and, to Schereschewsky's relief, was removed in the spring of 1868 to open the mission station in Wuchang.

Late in 1867, Schereschewsky purchased a Buddhist temple outside the West Gate of the city, repaired it, and converted it into a chapel, all for the amazingly small sum of 560 taels or about \$900. Here he regularly preached for the next seven years.

Several months before buying the temple, that is, in the spring and early summer of 1867, he took an inland journey of extraordinary interest, and, as the sequel indicated, not a little risk and excitement. In

the city of Kaifeng, capital of Honan Province, about 450 miles southwest of Peking, there was at the time, and had been for some centuries, a colony of Jews. Indeed, they professed to have entered China before the beginning of the Christian era. They were discovered by Jesuits in the seventeenth century. Dr. W. A. P. Martin had paid them a visit early in 1866, which he describes in *A Cycle of Cathay*. He found that they estimated their numbers at from three to four hundred; that they were for the most part small shopkeepers or artisans who had suffered much from the recent rebellion; that having no money to repair a ruinous synagogue, they had torn it down and sold the timbers; that their last Rabbi had died thirty or forty years before, and although they still had in their possession copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, none could read them.

Now it happened, at the end of March, 1867, that three of these Jews arrived in Peking, bringing three copies of the Pentateuch with them and expressing a desire to be instructed in Hebrew and in Christianity. "They are," wrote Schereschewsky, "perfectly unconscious of the difference between Judaism and Christianity. . . . They take it for granted that the religion preached by the missionaries here is identical with their own forgotten belief." He did not think them encouraging specimens, since two of the three were opium addicts. However, the missionaries of the various Churches in Peking decided that someone ought to make a visit to Kaifeng to see if it were

practicable to establish a mission there, and they unanimously urged Schereschewsky to go. He thereupon shaved the front of his head in the Chinese manner, donned Chinese costume, and went.

His own account of his journey is no longer extant, but fortunately a letter referring to it, written by his friend Blodget, on July 23, 1867, has been preserved:

"Mr. Schereschewsky has returned from his visit to the Jews in Kaifeng fu. He was fifteen days on the road in reaching the place and spent about twenty-five days there. He reports that there are in the colony two hundred or three hundred families of Jewish descent and that a fair proportion of them are in good circumstances. . . . They have entirely lost their religion and are scarcely distinguishable in any way from the heathen. They have idols in their houses, and ancestral tablets. One has become a Buddhist priest. They intermarry with the natives and have ceased to practice the rite of circumcision. In features, dress, habits, religion, they are essentially Chinese. . . . They cannot read the law, although the manuscripts are still in their possession. . . . It is not known that they have ever had any religious works in the Chinese language.

"Mr. Schereschewsky was well received by literary men from regions distant from the city and they visited him in great numbers to obtain books and converse. The natives of the place [i.e., the non-Jewish inhabitants of Kaifeng], however, felt differently. The literary men were jealous of him as the propagator of

a foreign religion. One pasted up a vile placard abusing him and foreigners generally. At last they raised a mob which, as the mob at Ephesus cried out by about the space of two hours, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians,' so were frantic with rage, threatening violence, beating an old priest, his host, and vociferating, 'We are the disciples of Confucius and Mencius.' He was compelled to leave."

In an address at the third Church Congress, in Boston in 1876, Schereschewsky, speaking of the influence of the literary class in China, alluded to his visit to Kaifeng: "I was, after the lapse of twenty days, mobbed and driven out of the city. And who was the mover? A poor man, a school master, who several times visited me, and was very polite indeed, paying me the tallest compliments in the world, and at the same time raising a mob against me, including all the respectable people of that city. I found out afterwards that that man happened to be a literary man; he had the second degree, corresponding to our Master of Arts, and had more influence than all the merchants of the city."

VIII

SUSAN MARY WARING

THERE is a legend still current in China that when the two bachelors in the Mission, Schereschewsky and Bishop Williams, heard that a charming, capable, young, unmarried woman was about to arrive as a missionary teacher, each determined to make her his wife. But while Williams waited at the wharf in Shanghai to welcome her, Schereschewsky took a launch and met her steamer at Wusung, twelve miles down the river. Before he and the lady reached the dock they were engaged to be married.

Just tribute as this legend is to Schereschewsky's enterprise and alacrity, it is, unfortunately, only a legend; for when Miss Susan Mary Waring landed in Shanghai, on November 13, 1867, neither Williams nor Schereschewsky was there.

What is said to be the true story of Schereschewsky's courtship is related, with some variation, by two of his younger contemporaries. The family of one was living in Shanghai at the time; the other knew him years afterward in Tokyo. The story goes like this:

On receipt of a letter from Thomson, describing Miss Waring in glowing terms, Schereschewsky pre-

pared to leave Pekin. "Where are you going?" asked his friend Henry Blodget. "I'm going to be married," he replied. "Have you met the lady?" queried Blodget in some amazement. "No," said Schereschewsky, "but I'm going to marry her." And off he went.

Now in 1867 there were no railways in China, and the usual method of travel between Pekin and Shanghai was by cart to Tientsin and thence by coastwise steamer. But it was in the midst of winter, the gulf of Pechihli was frozen, and no steamers were running. A long journey overland by cart or sedan chair was but little speedier than walking, and, for a vigorous person, less comfortable. It was also more expensive. So Schereschewsky decided to walk. Shanghai is almost nine hundred miles from Pekin. After walking about seven hundred he reached the Yangtze. Here he was invited aboard an American gunboat and taken the rest of the way.

He had heard that Miss Waring was staying with the Nelson's, one of the mission families, and thither he went at once.

"Where is she?" were his first words.

"Who?" asked Mrs. Nelson.

"Miss Waring, the woman who is to be my wife."

Mrs. Nelson told him that Miss Waring was then with the Thomsons, but suggested that he wait a week or two before assuring her and the world so confidently that she was to be his wife. That was on January 31, 1868.

In two weeks their engagement was announced; in less than three months they were married.

Mrs. Schereschewsky later said she was not a little embarrassed when, at missionary meetings in the United States someone would say, "Did your husband really walk seven hundred miles to marry you?"

Susan Mary Waring was a remarkable and refreshing young woman. Her terse, business-like application to the Board for appointment, in a day when such applications not infrequently ran to pages of pious platitude, is characteristic: "It is my desire to become a missionary to China. I am a member of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, and have been a communicant of the same for twelve years. Am a graduate from the Packer Collegiate Institute, class of '55. My profession is that of a writer. I am twenty-nine years old. My health is good. I enclose a letter from my pastor—Rev. Lawrence H. Mills. Should any further testimonials be required I am prepared to furnish them."

Her Pastor's letter is nothing less than a masterpiece: "She is one gifted with a fine intellect, good judgment, and most amiable disposition. . . . She has labored for years in church work, most assiduously, most unobtrusively, and with none of those peculiarities which so often mar the effectiveness of earnest female Christians."

No further testimonials were required!

She had been born in Brooklyn on August 29, 1837. Her mother was Caroline Chapman of New-

bern, North Carolina, of English and French-Huguenot descent. Her father, Henry P. Waring (1799–1884), merchant and Churchman, member of a Connecticut family, was descended from Captain Richard Waring who eloped with Lady Ann Millington, and emigrated from England to this country in the middle of the eighteenth century. One of their sons was a captain in the Revolutionary Army and served as Washington's aide-de-camp for one day!

Miss Waring had been brought up in St. Ann's Church, of which her family were members. She was early interested in missions and hoped to become a missionary, but her mother was in poor health and she stayed with her till her death. While at home she had written short stories and articles, chiefly for *Godey's Lady's Book*, a woman's periodical of the day.

Her first letters from China reveal an appreciative insight unusual among occidentals in the Orient at that time. "I made up my mind," she says, "not to make up my mind upon any subject connected with the work in prospect until I had arrived at my place of destination." Hence, to the surprise of fellow passengers on the way out, she abstained from reading books about China, except one devoted to the consideration of the Chinese classics, because from that, she felt, she would learn of the best which the Chinese had thought.

She was agreeably surprised with the appearance of Shanghai: "The entrance to the city reminded me at once, and singularly and strangely, of New York

Harbor; and as one born in the vicinage of the Empire City carries it with him wherever he goes, I had a curious feeling of being more at home than could possibly have been expected. Strange to say, I have since found the city and its precincts . . . possessed of a charm which I find it difficult to explain; others hardly seem to find it."

She explored the surrounding country with the Nelson children and acknowledged a frank delight in the pageantry of Chinese life: "Women stationed along the road, beside long lines of thread, stretched out like telegraph wires, . . . destined to form the warp of cotton cloth; . . . huge mill stones, revolving one upon another, in obedience to the movements of a buffalo, who treads his patient round, converting, by the process, wheat into flour; . . . a dromedary, brought hither by some itinerant merchant, grazing in a field. With something of that childish curiosity which has survived the chances and changes of twelve thousand miles of travel, I survey the unwonted animal, and own a fascination in his humps and shaggy hair and aggrieved countenance."

Nor was she lacking in more penetrating appraisal of Chinese character: "I think the Chinese as a nation are capable of all nobility. I imagine were they Christianized their taste would become developed into exquisite possibilities, for they have a keen appreciation of color." "The Greeks made their Gods immortals, who neither dreaded nor hoped; a calm touched all their conceptions, whose influence is felt in art to

this present time. . . . Buddha, I suppose, really is a nobler expression of deity. . . . He is gentle, benevolent, but utterly passive; he would not harm the smallest thing that creeps, and yet—absorbed in utter self-contemplation and repose—he cares not a button for all the wants and woes of the mortal race. These images of Buddha teach me more than anything I have yet found in China.”

Three weeks after her arrival Elliot Thomson wrote: “She seems in every way to be an acquisition to the Mission. She attacks the language with courage and zeal. She seems ready for any good work.”

Her wedding, on April 21, 1868, was performed by Thomson, who became a life-long friend.

On May 30th she and her husband left Shanghai for Peking. She was impressed by the capital’s massive walls, but not by what lay within them. “Before arriving in Peking,” she said, “I had formed a vague anticipation of seeing, at least in the appearance of the so-called imperial city, some suggestion of ancient grandeur; but both heart and eye received a severe shock of disappointment. So ruined and desolate a place . . . it would be hard for the mind to conceive of.” “The streets of the city are broad and nearly all unpaved. Where there is any pavement it is worn into deep ruts which no one ever thinks of repairing. . . . The dust is most excessive, and when the wind blows you can imagine the result.” There was, however, one compensation: “An almost perennially cloudless sky and almost unvarying sunlight.” There

was also a rose garden, planted for her by her husband, in the inner court of the house, which became a favorite refuge from the dusty streets. And there were occasional summer holidays in the Western Hills.

"When we first came," she wrote in 1873, "the neighbors were very unfriendly and would run away when they saw me coming. . . . As I learned to speak a little I would invite them to come and see me; I encouraged them to come to me for medicines, and tried, in short, to show them that I wished to do them good. According to the rules of the Board I was not provided with a teacher [of Chinese] as I was a married lady; and so picked up, as best I might, some knowledge of this difficult language. . . . In the meantime I had to train untaught servants and learn to keep house in China—itsself a science."

Study of the language (in which she became proficient) and domestic duties did not by any means exhaust her energies. Almost immediately upon coming to Peking she cast about for funds for a boys' day school, to which she hoped in time a boys' boarding school and a girls' day school might be added; but funds were slow in coming. Finally, at the Chinese New Year (*i.e.*, March), 1871, having extracted the munificent appropriation of seventy-five dollars from Bishop Williams, a few gifts from friends in Peking, and the promise of a contribution of \$200 from St. Ann's, Brooklyn, she opened the boys' day school. She taught daily in it herself. In October she wrote that she had thirteen pupils, "some of them bright, clever



SUSAN MARY WARING
Before her marriage

lads, and some not so promising." She asked for "a good-sized globe and map of the world" and "a small orrery," as well as colored pictures of Bible scenes; "for though our main efforts are addressed to give the scholars that instruction which shall, by God's grace, lead them into life eternal, we are also desirous that they should not be utterly ignorant of the rudiments of Western science." She assured the Board that the outlay on her school was "very moderate"—indeed less than on most such schools, because the Chinese teacher was also her husband's scribe, and her household servants were "willing both to do our work and the extra work for the school."

At the same time she was preparing "a class of several women and one young girl for baptism"; and she appears to have held a weekly meeting for women throughout most of her stay in Peking.

She also asked that medicines be sent her. "We find it," she said, "very desirable to have if possible a dispensary—even if it be on a small scale—on the premises. Indeed I am convinced that this is a necessary adjunct of missionary work. I had a small donation given me with which I purchased some medicines and dispensed them under the direction of Dr. Dudgeon of the London Mission, who has shown much kindness in assisting me in this matter. At present, however, we have only a small quantity—absurdly small. . . . Try as I may, I cannot pretend to do a tithe of the work that could be done in this neighborhood; for feeble and pitiful as the work has been in the line of giving

medical relief, it has set an open door before us here, and many a one that would scowl and frown at me when I first came, now meets me with a pleasant and friendly greeting; and doors that would never have been opened to me on any other score are gladly opened in the hope that the 'foreign lady with her foreign medicines' may soothe and relieve some painful or long standing disease."

"Please don't think me too troublesome," she wrote at the end of her appeal for medicines and maps. "It was for that very end I came here; and I'm afraid that the longer I stay the more troublesome I shall become. So if you get tired, the only thing is to send for me to come home."

Maps, medicines, pictures, and orrery were sent.

IX

THE POOR MAN'S BIBLE

SCHERESCHEWSKY'S work in Pekin was chiefly, indeed almost wholly, translating. He was concerned lest the Board of Missions were expecting of him more work of other kinds than he was able to do. "Translating," he wrote, on May 17, 1869, "requires my whole time and attention." He dared not, he said, permit himself to be diverted by frequent preaching, teaching, itinerating, or any other sort of mission work. He could not do two things at once if one were to be well done. He did, however, preach every Sunday; but daily weekday preaching he left to his catechist. No one realized better than he the meager results that were to be expected from work to which a missionary could give but a fraction of his time. Pekin, as others beside himself discovered, was peculiarly stony ground. The hordes of officials and "expectant officials" who thronged the capital hoping for placement were hostile to or contemptuous of Christianity. They set the fashion in religion as in everything else.

Despite an average attendance of forty-five at his chapel, he baptized, in Pekin, only about twenty during his entire sojourn there, and presented none for

confirmation. Most of the twenty came from the country, and at different times returned thither and were no more heard of. In February, 1874, he wrote to the Bishop that his efforts had thus far—after twelve years—been “without any apparent result so far as the gathering of any congregation of converts in this city is concerned.” At that time they amounted to “one family and a lad.” He said he did not feel himself fitted for the sort of work needed to build up and maintain a congregation, even if he had time for it.

He had had a slightly more heartening experience at a village near Chichow, 130 miles southwest of Peking. One of the men he had baptized in Peking, a former Taiping rebel, came from this village, and, when he was about to return, begged that Schereschewsky's catechist, Chang, go with him, as he was sure the Gospel might be preached there with success. Chang, on his return, said there were ten persons ready for baptism and a number of inquirers. He thought Schereschewsky ought to go thither, and he brought a letter from the baptized Taiping urging him to do so. In May, 1870, Schereschewsky went, accompanied by Mrs. Schereschewsky. Although he found interest in Christianity not so great as he had been led to expect, he baptized nine persons and admitted some others as catechumens. He left Chang in charge of them.

It was not until May, 1873, that he was able to pay them another visit. On this occasion he baptized forty-three, among whom were three literary gradu-

ates, one military graduate, and four or five candidates for the first literary degree. This was encouraging, but when he went again in the autumn of the same year he found their knowledge and zeal "in anything but a satisfactory condition." However, he established a boys' school at the place and engaged one of the converts as teacher.

He wrote to the Board that from his experience here and from similar experiences on the part of other missionaries, he had come to the conclusion "that any interior station will, without constant visiting on the part of the foreign missionary and continuous faithful work on the part of some native helper, soon decay and by degrees come to nothing." He added as his considered judgment that unless the Board were prepared to maintain three missionaries in Peking it would be better to turn the work he had started over to the Church Missionary Society of England. This was done in 1875.

When he reported his lack of success in and, as he felt, his unfitness for building up a congregation, he was at the same time able to write: "The work for which, in the opinion of others, I have some qualification and fitness, I have, I may be allowed to say, conscientiously and diligently been engaged in."

This was certainly not an overstatement. When Bishop Williams visited him in 1868 he found him employing two Chinese copyists. "Dismissing one at five p.m., he takes the new one after tea and works till ten or later every night."

Mrs. Schereschewsky admitted that her patience was sometimes tried by his ability so to concentrate on his translating that he would hear or see nothing else. He would suffer no interruption, no matter how urgent she thought the occasion for it to be. And it was always a task to get him to bed. She would often go in search of him at two a.m. and find him sitting before the stove in his study, repeating Chinese phrases to himself, wholly unaware that the fire had gone out.

He begrudged time taken for letter writing and, at this period of his life, was a proverbially impossible correspondent. The Board of Missions clamored for letters from all the missionaries, especially letters suitable for publication, and Bishop Williams assigned a month to each, during which he was to write. He gave December to Schereschewsky, but warned the Board that they would probably "not get much aid and comfort from him." The American Bible Society also wanted to include in its annual reports some word about his work, and when none came from him appealed to the Board of Missions for news. The Secretary of the Foreign Committee on one occasion wrote to Schereschewsky that he had had to confess to the Bible Society "with a blush" that he had not had a letter from him for two years. "I am aware of your unconquerable aversion to letter writing," he said, but voiced the modest hope that "one page every three months" might not seriously interrupt his labors!

The Board, however, expressed their "entire concurrence" in Bishop Williams' opinion that Schereschewsky ought not to be drawn from translating into any other activity until the translating was finished.

His work on the Old and New Testaments and the Prayer Book went on concomitantly. The books of the New Testament allotted to him were Matthew, Hebrews, and Revelation—together making nearly a quarter of the volume. This did not, however, represent the extent of his New Testament labors. These involved the scrutiny of the translation of the others and periodic meetings with them. Each translator submitted his first draft to his fellows, each of whom noted his criticisms of it in writing. With these before him the translator worked it over. After his second draft had been considered by the others separately, they met together, with two or three Chinese scholars, and this second draft was read aloud verse for verse. Every change in this had to secure the support of three of the five members of the committee.

Portions of the New Testament were published in tentative editions as soon as they were completed, from 1864 to 1870. Of Schereschewsky's books, Matthew first appeared in 1865; Hebrews and Revelation in the section "Romans to Revelation" in 1870. After this he devoted several months with the Committee to a final revision of the whole, which was published in September, 1872.

"The success of this version," writes Marshall

Broomhall in his recent book, *The Bible in China*,¹ "was more immediate, more widespread, and more permanent than the most sanguine of the translators had hoped. It marked an epoch in the history of the Bible in China."

Early in the same year the complete Mandarin Prayer Book appeared. This was the joint work of Schereschewsky and Burdon; Morning and Evening Prayer, the collects, and the Psalter being Schereschewsky's contribution. He also, with Burdon, translated a number of hymns. In the same year a translation of Matthew into Mongolian by Schereschewsky and Edkins was issued. Schereschewsky also began about this time to compile a Mongolian dictionary, of which half was finished by 1875.

His major efforts, however, were given to the Mandarin Old Testament, the first draft of which was completed by the spring of 1873. It had been the original plan that the other members of the New Testament Committee would criticize this in the same way that they had criticized each others' work on the New Testament, but Blodget was the only one who found time to do so. Schereschewsky made the final revision as it went through the press.

The only Old Testament Books to appear separately before the whole was published were Genesis and Psalms, the first, as we have seen, in 1866, the second in 1867. The last form of the complete Old Testament was printed on December 22, 1874. It

¹ Religious Tract Society, London, 1934.

was done at the press of the American Board in Peking, under the auspices of the American Bible Society.

Both the American and the British Bible Societies had previously published editions of the New Testament in its complete form as well as in portions, and both subsequently published editions of the whole Bible and parts of it; but to the American Bible Society belongs the credit of having fostered the production of the work by the payment of the salary of one of Schereschewsky's Chinese assistants from 1865 on, and of his own salary as well as that of his helpers from at least as early as the beginning of 1870—perhaps earlier—till the end of 1874.

Bishop Williams, writing of the completion of the translation, said: "The magnitude of the work, the amount of labor, the patience and care and thought and study necessary to accomplish such an undertaking can be fully appreciated by no one who has not attempted to translate the Bible into a language not his mother tongue. And it must be borne in mind that to translate into any European language . . . is a very different thing from translating into a language of which the grammar, idiom, and mode of thought are so entirely unlike our own."

Schereschewsky admitted that he had "found it tolerably hard work to translate the original and at the same time use simple and intelligible Chinese," for he had "made it a rule to use nothing but intelligible language."

The Board of Missions went on record that they had heard "with great satisfaction" of the completion of his labors, after "fourteen years of severe and unremitting toil." It is, they said, "an honor to our communion, . . . while it is no less a credit to the patient learning of the eminent man through whose agency this remarkable result has been accomplished."

"Hardly any work in Christian literature of such importance has yet been projected in China," said Henry Blodget. "The Bible in this style will be the poor man's Bible throughout the land." Sixteen years later he wrote: "The translation of the Old Testament into the Mandarin was made by a master hand, seemingly raised up by God for this purpose."

A quarter of a century after its publication W. A. P. Martin said that Schereschewsky's Old Testament "stands by itself and is not likely to be superseded." "For that task," he went on, "his qualifications were exceptional. By birth a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and running over with rabbinic lore, he had made himself a Chinese by adoption and by successful study. No man of that day equalled him in idiomatic command of the spoken Mandarin."

In 1903 the representative of the American Bible Society in China wrote: "No one not a missionary to China can understand what this work meant and will mean through all time to the Church of Christ in that land. It gave a new impetus to all forms of missionary work and enabled the Churches of all denominations in Mandarin-speaking China, so recently opened to

them, to train an efficient native ministry and raise up an intelligent Church."

At a meeting of the American Congregational missionaries in North China in 1874, it was unanimously voted "that Dr. Blodget should write to the American Bible Society and request it to consider the question of appointing Dr. Schereschewsky to undertake the translation of the Bible into Mongolian;" which was, as Bishop Williams observed, a tribute to Schereschewsky's "remarkable linguistic talent and ability as a translator."

The Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Ohio, at Gambier, has the honor to have been the first institution of learning in America to recognize the significance of Schereschewsky's labors. As early as June 29, 1871, it conferred on him, *in absentia*, the degree of Doctor of Divinity.²

In 1870—he had then been ten years in China without respite—his health began to suffer. He had frequent diarrhea, which, it was feared, might become chronic, and two years later he became subject to attacks of pain in his left side. Bishop Williams urged him to take a furlough, but he kept putting it off until the various translation projects in which he was engaged were completed, wishing, as he said, "to leave with the consciousness of having performed a definite task and done a work which will enable me

² In some biographical notices he is erroneously said to have received a doctor's degree from Columbia.

to think that my having been in China has not been fruitless."

In 1872 the Board formally granted him two years' leave of absence to begin the following spring, but he decided not to take it until he had seen the Old Testament through the press. Hence he remained in Peking two years longer.

Meanwhile, on March 6, 1873, Mrs. Schereschewsky had borne him a son, who was named Joseph Williams—Joseph for his father and Williams for his Godfather, the Bishop; and on June 27, 1874, there was a daughter, Caroline. She was named for her maternal grandmother.

After placing his mission work under the care of the English Church Missionary Society, Schereschewsky and his family left Peking on April 20, 1875. He told Blodget, before leaving, that he hoped to return to translate the Bible into Mongolian and to take part in its translation into Wenli, the literary language of China.

The Schereschewskys spent three weeks in Japan, chiefly with Bishop Williams in Yedo (now Tokyo), and arrived in San Francisco on July first.

In Pittsburgh Schereschewsky stopped over for a fortnight, while his family went on to Brooklyn. Seventeen years before, on January 25, 1858, he had filed, in the United States Circuit Court in Pittsburgh, his declaration of intention of becoming a citizen. He now applied to the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, in Pittsburgh, for naturaliza-

tion. His case was peculiar, if not unique. The normal requirement at the time was five years' residence in this country immediately preceding naturalization. He had been out of the country over fifteen years. The court acted on the assumption that, despite this absence, his American residence had not been broken, since he had lived in China under the jurisdiction of the United States. His employment for nearly a year as secretary to the American Legation in Pekin was accepted as an evidence of this. On July 19, 1875, he was admitted to American citizenship, of which he was always very proud.

X

UTTERLY UNQUALIFIED

“WE WELCOME to our sessions with peculiar pleasure” the Rev. Dr. Schereschewsky and “we recognize” in his Mandarin translation “one of the greatest trophies of missionary work and learning which the Church has ever given to a foreign land.” So voted the Board of Missions at their meeting in October, 1875.

At the afternoon session on October 27th Schereschewsky addressed the Board on China and Japan. After pointing out the opportunities in China he charged the Church with failing miserably to live up to them. No Church, he said, dare call itself Catholic unless it is “thoroughly missionary.” When he spoke of the work in Japan he minced no words on the shameful neglect of Bishop Williams by the Church at home. While the Episcopal Church had been the first in Japan, it was now the last in support of the work there. Williams, who was too modest to say much, if anything, about his own wants, was struggling along at the cost of great personal sacrifice, devoting two-thirds of his own small income to work which should be paid for by the Church, living in a poor, little Japanese house scarcely better than a hut,

which formed at once his dwelling, his school, and his chapel.

"The entire address," said *The Churchman*, "was listened to with marked interest and respect." The reporter of it was impressed by the speaker's "thorough knowledge of the English idiom."

Williams, as we recall, had begun work in Japan in 1859, after three years in China. In 1866 he had been made Bishop of both China and Japan. At the close of 1873 he asked to be relieved of part of his immense jurisdiction—it was 2,000 miles from Tokyo to Wuchang—and expressed his desire to be Bishop of Japan alone. The General Convention of 1874 acceded to his wish and elected the Rev. William P. Orrick of Reading, Pennsylvania, as Bishop for China. Probably the most sensible thing about this election was Mr. Orrick's refusal to accept it. Hence, when Schereschewsky returned to this country in 1875, China was without a bishop.

Earlier that year our oldest missionary in point of service and one of the most capable and devoted the Church has ever sent out, Miss Lydia M. Fay, wrote, in her invariably sprightly manner, to the foreign secretary of the Board of Missions on the subject:

"You doubtless know that the present Bishop of Victoria [Hongkong] was the Rev. John Shaw Burdon of the Church Missionary Society of Pekin, and for a long time associated with Dr. Schereschewsky of our Mission in translating the Prayer Book into Chinese. They are counted, very justly, the first

Chinese scholars of the age. . . . It was for this great work that the English Church has made him the Bishop of Victoria. . . . I wonder what reward the American Church will have in store for our 'Dr. Sherry'? You must not, however, as you value our prosperity, make him our Bishop!! He is a splendid scholar—very kind and social—but he is a Russian Polish Jew—could never manage *us Americans* a minute! Indeed could never manage anything but books, which he always spoils or loses in using, and hard names and problems; and has no more idea of economy—the value of money, its real uses—the relations between cause and effect, etc., than a mere child. I remember how he used to surprise and amuse me with his grand plans for mission work when he first came out here, and was always telling what he would do if he had a hundred thousand dollars. I used to reply with a quiet smile that mission work was not a problem to be solved by spending a hundred thousand dollars; it was a mere question of what one person could do, alone and unaided, without any money at all, except for daily bread.

"And he seems bravely to have settled down to that since he went to Peking, and has done a grand and noble work in translating, for which our whole Church owes him grateful thanks. . . .

"I asked Bishop Burdon one day what sort of a bishop 'Brother Sherry' would make. 'Oh!' he exclaimed, 'he is a great scholar, but, as you know, only good at making books, and your Mission should keep

him at it.' Bishop Burdon's antecedents were very different."

Schereschewsky, as we shall see, would have been the first to agree with Miss Fay and Bishop Burdon on his unfitness for the episcopate. But even such unanimity did not necessarily guarantee the correctness of the conclusion. Moreover, although he had, as Miss Fay said, settled down bravely to do a grand and noble work alone and unaided, and was again to do another still more bravely, not only alone and unaided but neglected, he was to have his brief interval when it seemed as if his youthful dream of a hundred thousand dollars for missions would come true. It came half true, and the other half was more than made up for by his supposedly absent sense of the value of money. Out of his dreams and his impracticality arose the institution of which, perhaps more than any other in the Orient, the Christian Church has reason to be proud.

But all that was still in the future when he addressed the Board of Missions at four o'clock in the afternoon of October 27, 1875. One hour earlier William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of Pennsylvania, submitted a report as chairman of the special committee of the Board appointed to consider the annual report of the Foreign Committee. "Great things," he said, "have been done by our Mission in China. Schools have been established, churches erected, parishes organized, a native clergy and catechists trained, a religious literature started into being, and the Word

of God translated into the court language of the Empire. . . . But much of this will be lost . . . if the present headless state of the Mission is permitted to continue.

"There is needed there a bishop possessing a well-trained and highly cultivated mind; of poised and disciplined judgment; of earnest, self-sacrificing zeal; of quick perceptions and prompt action; of broad sympathies, and of a devout and humble spirit. . . . A bishop at home, if he is a weak man, can lean upon his fellow-bishops. . . . But the bishop in a field like China . . . stands there alone. . . . We need therefore a man of the very highest gifts and character. . . . The Committee rejoices to know that the Rev. Dr. Schereschewsky has completed his translation of the Bible."

The pointed intention of this juxtaposition can hardly be doubted. Bishop Stevens went on to say that Schereschewsky, returning with bound copies of his translation, was more worthy an ovation than any victor who ever returned to Rome with the spoils of conquered provinces. He had made the Bible speak to "nearly half a hemisphere." The encomium ended with an allusion to his "learning and diligence in toiling so long, so patiently, and so successfully in this solitary and at times deeply discouraging work."

Whether or not this obvious nomination to the episcopate were needed it is impossible to say. At any rate, at a special meeting of the House of Bishops in Trinity Chapel, New York, two days later, on the morning of October 29, 1875, Schereschewsky was

elected "Missionary Bishop of Shanghai, having jurisdiction in China."

On November 10th he wrote to the Presiding Bishop declining the office. "I take this step," he said, "after mature and serious deliberation. . . . I feel myself utterly unqualified for the high and sacred office of bishop in the Church of Christ. . . . I believe I serve the cause of our common Master more profitably, and, I humbly trust, more acceptably, in the capacity of a simple presbyter, than by taking upon myself an office for which I have no qualification whatever."

Bishop Doane of Albany wrote to him, in words which doubtless expressed the thoughts of others beside himself: "We do not always know ourselves the best—and I confess to the feeling that you have taken a very serious responsibility; first, in refusing the voice of the bishops, who ought to be considered the voice of the Church, secondly, in delaying so much longer the episcopal headship for China, and thirdly, in preventing, perhaps, the experiment of conducting a foreign mission in a churchly way. I am very sorry and I am afraid the effect will be bad."

The remark about conducting a foreign mission in a churchly way was an allusion to the fact that all the foreign missions of the Church had hitherto been directed and almost wholly manned by Virginia Low Churchmen, whereas Schereschewsky was regarded as a High Churchman, as indeed he was, according to the standards of his day, although he always disclaimed partisan Churchmanship of any sort.

Bishop Doane's regrets at Schereschewsky's refusal of the episcopate were not shared by the handful of missionaries on the field. William J. Boone, son of Bishop Boone, wrote to the foreign secretary of the Board of Missions: "Between us, no one here seems to regret Dr. Schereschewsky's declining, but rather his election. As I don't know him personally I am of course neutral, though I have always supposed him a bookworm and not a *worker among men* from all reports." Young Boone had gone to Shanghai direct from Seminary in 1870, and since Schereschewsky had not been in that city since his marriage in 1868 they had not met. Boone's only memory of him was when, as a boy, he bade his father good-bye in New York, in 1859, and Schereschewsky was one of the party of missionaries going out with the Bishop.

The irrepressible Miss Fay wrote: "With all my disappointment in not having a bishop here, I am quite glad Mr. Schereschewsky declined the honor. He is very clever in books, but he holds the most *extraordinary* opinions in theology, and he has more than a Jew's contempt for the theology, learning, and opinions of others. And as for the Chinese, he looks upon them as a Brahman does upon a pariah. He is kind and amiable to those he likes, but it seems to me he has little love for fallen humanity."

The good lady did not specify what the extraordinary theological opinions were, which do not seem ever to have disturbed the American episcopate. As for her other strictures, it should be remem-

bered that she had seen very little of Schereschewsky since he went to Peking fourteen years before. There was, however, this truth in her observations: on matters where his learning gave him the right to an opinion he was apt to be opinionated; he was prone to take decided views and be sure that he was right. Moreover, always scrupulously neat in his own person and, as might be expected in an expert linguist, precise in his thinking, he was impatient with all slovenliness, physical or mental. He was irritated by stupidity and he abhorred dirt. His ire was roused by unpunctuality, slackness, and laziness. Since the Chinese have their share of these shortcomings, there must undoubtedly have been occasions on which he expressed, in no uncertain terms, his disapproval of those who exemplified them. But to infer that he had no real concern for the Chinese is quite another matter. However, knowing nothing of the excellent Miss Fay's opinion of him, he was not troubled by it.

Both he and Mrs. Schereschewsky soon found themselves in great demand as speakers. The day after he declined the episcopate he addressed the second Church Congress, in Philadelphia, on the revision of the English Bible and whether the Episcopal Church should take part in it. "Why," he asked with some impatience, "when this movement for the revision of the Bible has been taken up by the Church in England, and by other Churches in this country, should we not fall in? Why should we lag behind? . . .

I am very jealous for the honor of our Church. I should like to have it not only represented in every movement, but the leading Church in the country in every way—in learning, in piety, in missionary zeal—although I am sorry to say that thus far it is not.”

During their first fall and winter in this country the Schereschewskys made 1544 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, their headquarters, and in the spring or early summer of 1876 moved to Philadelphia, where, at 2526 North Sixth Street, they lived for almost a year. Schereschewsky was frequently away from home speaking in places as distant as Boston and Detroit, or Cincinnati and Alexandria; while his wife, who had two young children to look after, confined her activities to the more immediate neighborhood, although she went to Baltimore from Philadelphia on more than one occasion, and expressed a desire to go from the same city to Newark, “where I am told thick darkness prevails!”

They found the summer in Philadelphia unbearable. “I have never experienced greater heat in China,” wrote Schereschewsky, “and in China people don’t wear such absurdly hot clothes in the summer.” They were fortunately able to get away for a while to Atlantic City. “My children,” wrote Mrs. Schereschewsky, shortly before going, “have the measles and the heat is stifling. I have wished myself back in China over and over again. . . . To be a returned missionary is not a ‘feast of nectared sweets where no crude surfeit reigns.’”

XI

A NEW ERA IN MISSIONS

HAVING definitely declined the episcopate, Schereschewsky went ahead with plans for further translation work. He told the Board of Missions that a commentary on the Bible and simple books on theology were needed in Chinese; also a translation of the Bible into Wenli, and another into Mongolian. If he were to undertake the latter he would like to go to Europe for the second year of his furlough for further study, especially in Sanskrit. If not, he suggested that, on his return to the Orient, he be transferred to Japan. After two years' study he felt he could engage profitably in translation there, while also continuing work in Chinese. Bishop Williams favored this, and wrote to the Board that if Schereschewsky did not come to Japan the Episcopal Church would not be able to contribute much to Bible translation in that land.

All these plans were interrupted by a special meeting of the House of Bishops at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, on October 13, 1876. There the assembled bishops listened to the reading of Schereschewsky's letter of the previous November emphatically declining the episcopate, and proceeded

to elect him again. A committee of three was sent to inform him of the election. Two of these were his oldest friends in the Church, Dr. Lyman, his rector in Pittsburgh, now Bishop of North Carolina, and Dr. Kerfoot, now Bishop of Pittsburgh, former rector of St. James' College, Maryland, where Schereschewsky had spent seven months in 1858. After much hesitation they persuaded him to accept. He spoke of a plan he had been maturing which, he said, in his opinion, would prove, if successful, to be the beginning of a new era in the work of establishing the Church of God in China. It appears that they expressed their approval of the plan and promised their coöperation in getting it before the Church.

Yet this did not dispose of his doubts of his fitness for the office. Six days after his election he wrote to Bishop Kerfoot:

"As you may suppose, I have been, ever since my election, much exercised in my mind. I have had many and grave misgivings as to whether I did right after all in giving in as I did; whether I should not rather have adhered to my resolution of last year of positively declining an office for which I still think I am not well qualified. I have been on the point of formally declining again, although in doing so I should perhaps have put myself in quite an unfavorable light before the Church. For the first three or four days I was in great misery of mind about this whole matter. . . . I wished and I still wish the Church had elected somebody else and left me to finish my



MRS. SCHERESCHEWSKY IN 1876

course in the service of my Master as I began, a simple priest. . . . However, I begin to feel a little more calm on the subject, a little more resigned to submit to a combination of circumstances which has all the appearance of being brought about by Divine Providence. And may He who is the Strength of the weak and the Guide of the perplexed be my Strength and my Guide in this very solemn matter, and give me light to see my path of duty clear before me. And if it is His will that I should be a bishop in His Church, may He give me grace so to fulfil the duties connected with it as to justify my election, and not disappoint the expectations of the bishops who have appointed me to this very responsible and holy office.”¹

The plan which Schereschewsky rightly felt would inaugurate a new era in missions, and for whose realization he hoped to enlist the coöperation of the Church, was the establishment of a missionary college where modern science and Christianity would be taught along with the Chinese classics. Mission

¹ This letter, the major part of which is here given, was printed in full in *The Churchman* of August 28, 1926. The original was then in the possession of the late Rev. Walter Franklin Prince, of Boston, who sent a copy to that periodical, which had, some months earlier, published a carelessly inaccurate article about Schereschewsky, in which the author, without the least shred of evidence, insinuated that Schereschewsky's acceptance of Christianity was the result of economic pressure and was purely nominal. It called forth a spirited reply from Miss Caroline Schereschewsky, in the issue of June 12, 1926, as well as a communication from Dr. Prince in which Schereschewsky's letter to Bishop Kerfoot was given, with this simple and sufficient comment: "Who, reading that letter alone, can doubt the sincerity, earnestness, zeal, and Christian faith of the writer?"

schools were already in operation in various parts of China; he visualized an institution of distinctly higher learning, whence would issue a steady stream of native leadership, lay and clerical, at once learned and Christian. For the endowment of this institution he wanted a hundred thousand dollars.

Today, when China is dotted with colleges and universities, Christian and non-Christian, it is hard to appreciate the freshness and daring of this idea. But, as Bishop Graves has well said, "It was a large vision for a man to have in the China of those days, so obstinately opposed to Western learning." As late as the end of 1876, Schereschewsky's friend Blodget wrote home from Peking speaking of the future need of a college and theological seminary, but sadly added, "These will not come in my day, unless indeed things should suddenly take a new turn."

It was Schereschewsky who gave the "new turn," not only to the mission work of the Episcopal Church, but to that of all the Churches in China. His missionary college was the beginning of a series of foundations which have sounded the characteristic note of modern missions, especially of modern American missions in the Far East. It was also the beginning of modern higher education, missionary and non-missionary, in China.

He had long pondered the idea. Blodget, writing in 1879, said, "Bishop Schereschewsky has had some such plan in mind for above sixteen years." We recall how, not long after his arrival in China, he had "sur-

prised and amused" Miss Fay by "telling what he would do if he had a hundred thousand dollars."

The hundred thousand dollars was still to be raised. It was a modest sum for the endowment of a college anywhere. The most that could be expected from it in annual income was \$6,000. Schereschewsky was willing to begin on a small scale like "one of those Western colleges, with two professors and everything to correspond"—if only he might begin. But the time was not propitious for raising money. The country was in the throes of the financial depression which had begun in the autumn of 1873 and had deepened during the three following years. Missionary contributions fell off alarmingly. The Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions reported a deficit of \$23,000, and the Foreign Committee one of \$41,000 at the end of 1876. In proportion to the meager missionary budget of the day these deficits looked ruinous.

The Foreign Committee announced that no new work could be undertaken, no new appointments made, not even to replace workers who died or retired, until its deficit had been met. Hence it can readily be understood why, when Schereschewsky, on December 1, 1876, formally laid his plan for a college before them, they took no action whatever, dared not even go on record that they thought it a good idea. It was, doubtless, their failure to do so, coupled with the generally disheartening financial situation, that so discouraged him that he was, as the

Committee learned in January, 1877, again on the point of declining the bishopric. At their meeting on February 2nd the Rev. John Cotton Smith was selected to convey to him their "apprehension that serious damage to the work would attend his declination." What else Dr. Smith said we do not know, but in all probability the Bishop-elect was assured of the individual approval of his plan by the committee members, and encouraged to go ahead with a campaign of his own to raise the money.

He secured the enthusiastic backing of Bishop Horatio Potter of New York, Chairman of the Foreign Committee, and Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania, who, with Dr. Edward A. Washburn, rector of Calvary Church, New York, were tireless in their support of his project. By the middle of March, 1877, \$30,000 was subscribed.

At that time the Schereschewskys moved their headquarters from Philadelphia to Boston, where, at 32 Derne Street, they remained, except for a summer at East Braintree, until the end of October. The Bishop-elect, however, was seldom at home, for he redoubled his efforts, as indeed did Mrs. Schereschewsky, though in a more restricted area, to bring the cause before the Church. The difficulties of his fourteen years in the Orient were not, he said later, to be compared to the difficulty of awakening the Church in America to an intelligent interest in China.

The impression which Mrs. Schereschewsky made on the many assemblies of women which she addressed

was, in the words of a hearer, one "of great sweetness and fervour," resulting in the stimulation of "hundreds of women in the eastern cities . . . to love and pray and work for foreign missions."

On July 17th the Foreign Committee formally declared "their deep conviction of the importance of . . . a missionary college," and on August 7th voted to endorse Schereschewsky's appeal for funds. But at the same time that he was conducting his campaign, a committee of bishops were conducting another for money to meet the deficit of the Board of Missions. By the time of the meeting of the General Convention in October, 1877, the deficit of the Domestic Committee was reduced from \$23,000 to \$5,000, that of the Foreign Committee from \$41,000 to \$18,000. Meanwhile pledges for Schereschewsky's college had gone up to about \$40,000.

It is hard to say whether one campaign hindered the other, or whether both were benefited by the new sense of responsibility for missions which both awakened. In any case, the joint result was remarkable in a year of continued depression. Yet it was clear that a college could not be maintained on an endowment of \$40,000. And the wells of giving had been pumped dry.

It was Schereschewsky's settled, and, it would seem, wholly justified conviction that if he could not return to China assured of the Church's support of his educational plan, or indeed of any plan of advance in missionary endeavor, it would be better for

him to go back as a presbyter and resume the work of translation. There was no shadow of doubt as to his fitness for this, or of its usefulness to the Christian cause. Moreover, as a translator, his salary would be paid by the American Bible Society, and the hard-pressed Foreign Committee relieved of financial responsibility for him. Hence at the General Convention of 1877, which met in Boston, Schereschewsky gave to the Presiding Bishop a formal withdrawal of his former acceptance of the episcopate. This, on October 11th, was referred to a committee of which Bishop Bedell of Ohio was Chairman. On the 16th the committee reported that they had had a long interview with Schereschewsky and had "used all proper efforts to induce him to withdraw his resignation," but with "entire want of success."

Six days later, on the 22nd, it was announced that he had withdrawn his withdrawal. He later said that it was what the Rev. Dr. Heman Dyer, editor of the *Episcopal Quarterly Review* and a member of the Foreign Committee, told him that influenced him finally to accept the episcopate. Just what this was is not definitely known, but it is certain that among the persuasions used either by him or others was the announcement that if Schereschewsky did not accept, the bishops were prepared to let the Mission die out with the men who were in the field or turn it over to the English Church. Possibly also some assurance was given that if the hundred thousand dollars were not raised before his return to China some such scheme

as that finally adopted, enabling him to open the college anyway, would be put in effect.

At the session of the Convention on October 25th the House of Bishops, on motion of Bishop Stevens, voted its confidence in Schereschewsky's plan, and, on motion of the aging Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, under whom Schereschewsky had become a candidate for the ministry, the House besought clergy and laity "to make their utmost efforts" to raise the necessary funds. Early in November Bishop Potter, as Chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions, appointed a committee of clergymen and laymen to assist in raising them.

Meanwhile, on Wednesday, October 31, 1877, six days after the closing of General Convention, Schereschewsky was consecrated in Grace Church, New York.² No less than seventeen bishops were present. The consecrator was the Presiding Bishop, Benjamin Bosworth Smith, who was assisted in the laying on of hands by Bishops Whittingham, Lyman, Kerfoot, Stevens, Potter, and Bedell. Bishop Stevens preached the sermon, which was an eloquent appeal for the proposed college.

That night Bishop Potter introduced the new bishop to the Church Congress, then in session at Chickering Hall, as "a person in whom I take a very

² Schereschewsky was the fourth Jewish Christian to become a bishop in the Anglican Communion. The others were Michael Solomon Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, 1841-45; Isaac Helmuth, Bishop of Huron, 1871-83; and John Gottlieb Auer, Bishop of Cape Palmas, Liberia, 1873-74.

great interest." Two bishops had spoken before him, Bishop Dudley of Kentucky and Bishop Clark of Rhode Island. The latter had been called on unexpectedly and professed great embarrassment in following such an eloquent speaker as the Assistant Bishop of Kentucky. When Schereschewsky rose he said with a twinkle in his eye, that his embarrassment was twice as great as Bishop Clark's: "He appeared before you after one eloquent Bishop, the eloquent Assistant Bishop of Kentucky. I have the misfortune to address you after two eloquent bishops, the eloquent Assistant Bishop of Kentucky and the eloquent Bishop of Rhode Island!"

The subject under discussion was the relation of the American press to Christianity. Some of the previous speakers had said things not entirely complimentary to the press. Schereschewsky reminded the audience that he had been brought up in a country where the press was rigidly censored, and had lived some years in another where there was practically no press at all. Hence he was not inclined to be critical of the press in America. "I have not seen," he said, "a single newspaper which is taken by reputable citizens . . . where Christianity is ridiculed or attacked. . . . I do not think, as some people seem to do, that everything published in the press is true; but from what I have learned of the American people, I do not think that they in general are at all disposed to believe everything which they see in the papers. . . . In that respect they differ considerably from the English. . . . The



BISHOP SCHERESCHEW SKY
At the time of his consecration

average Englishman believes in *The London Times* as he believes in the Gospel. . . . As to newspapers not stating the truth, they are not singular in that respect! . . . I, as an adopted American citizen, who for years was a citizen of a country in all respects opposite to America, believe, on the whole, that you ought to be thankful for your press."

The audience was won by the good sense and quiet humor of the speech. It was punctuated by laughter and applause and ended in an ovation.

The next day, All Saints' Day, the new Bishop presided, delivered the address, and celebrated the Holy Communion at the matriculation service at the General Theological Seminary.

XII

LAMBETH AND THE ZOO

WITH the assistance of the committee appointed to aid him, pledges of about \$10,000 more were added to Schereschewsky's fund before Christmas, bringing the promised amount up to \$50,000.¹ Early in December *The Churchman* had published two letters from a correspondent who asked the Church's "sympathy for the Pacific Coast," and complained that missions there were neglected by Church folk in the east, "while they can subscribe any amount to found colleges in China." On December 17, 1877, Schereschewsky, referring to this statement, wrote:

"I only wish that what he believes were true. . . . The facts are briefly these:

"1. Since missions have been established in China, up to the present time, not a *single* college has been established. . . .

"2. I have spent two long weary years in urging upon the Church here the pressing necessity of a missionary college. . . . What has been the result? I

¹ Some of the pledges were made conditional on the securing of \$100,000, and were withdrawn. But a considerable percentage of them were ultimately paid. By the fall of 1878, \$12,000 had been received; this rose to \$26,000 in 1879, to \$33,000 in 1881, to \$42,000 in 1884, and finally to \$52,000.

have asked of the Church \$100,000 that I might upon a small scale begin such an institution, and, after great labor and much anxiety, . . . I have succeeded in obtaining *promises* for perhaps one-half of the proposed amount. . . .

"Does your correspondent—at the time I need the sympathy and support of the Church if ever man did need it—does he begrudge me such a small and dubious success as this?"

At the meeting of the Foreign Committee on January 8, 1878, he suggested that until the necessary fund for the college had been subscribed, the Committee should undertake to appropriate annually the equivalent of the interest on it, or \$6,000, so that the college might be established immediately on his return to China. The Committee did not vote favorably on this until April 9th, by which time Schereschewsky had secured pledges of annual gifts of the amount needed for this purpose for the next three years. It was now announced that the college would open with at least three teachers beside the Bishop: the Rev. Y. K. Yen, a Chinese Master of Arts of Kenyon College, and two members of the graduating class of the Berkeley Divinity School, Daniel M. Bates and William S. Sayres. One of the Mission buildings at Shanghai was to be at the disposal of the Bishop for the use of the college.

Hence, as far as this problem was concerned the Bishop might depart for China with a reasonably light heart. But there were other problems. The past

two years had seriously depleted the ranks of the missionaries, and further depletion threatened. In the spring of 1878 there were but two American clergymen in the Mission at Shanghai, and one of them, Elliot Thomson, was due for furlough. If he took it, there would be left the elderly Dr. Robert Nelson and two Chinese clergy, K. C. Wong and H. N. Wu, at that station. Miss Fay, the veteran teacher, whose schools were to be the nucleus of the new college, had been so ill that her life had been despaired of. (She died October 5, 1878, rejoicing that the new Bishop, of whose election she had not approved, agreed with her as to the importance of education and the training of a native clergy.)

At the Hankow-Wuchang station, opened by Bishop Williams in 1868, there was the Rev. Y. K. Yen (to be removed to the new college) and the physician Albert C. Bunn. Dr. Bunn's wife had recently died, the health of his little son was precarious, and his return to America was momentarily awaited. The younger Boone had already left Wuchang an invalid on furlough, and there was doubt if he could ever return. The Foreign Committee had no funds for replacements.

Schereschewsky appealed to the Church for three men and the means to send them. He got one. The Rev. S. R. J. Hoyt, who had served in Wuchang for some years, and who, early in 1877, had been compelled to return to this country because of the health of his wife, volunteered to go back without her for

two years to stop the gap till a permanent man could be found. The money for his support was raised by special subscription. With this none too heartening evidence of the Church's backing, the Bishop prepared to return to the Orient.

On Palm Sunday evening, April 14, 1878, there was a farewell service at Calvary Church, New York. And on Good Friday the Bishop, in a letter to *The Churchman*, addressed a word of appreciation to all who had helped him. "On the eve of my departure," he said, "with a humble and grateful heart I thank God for the present evidences of an increased zeal and interest in the work; and, looking forward, I take courage for the future."

The next day, April 20th, he and his family left New York. The second Lambeth Conference was to meet in July, hence they returned to China via England. They arrived in Liverpool on May 1st after "a very rough passage . . . not unattended with danger," and proceeded directly to London where they took an apartment at 6 South Gardens, Clapham Common. The four months spent here was a time of recuperation for Mrs. Schereschewsky, who had literally worked herself sick in America. She was not strong enough to do much sight-seeing or to accompany the Bishop on a visit to Oxford in June when, to his delight, he met the Chinese scholar James Legge and the great Max Müller.

A few weeks after the Schereschewskys reached London the younger Boones arrived there on their way

home from China, and at once looked up the Bishop. "We are, I think," wrote Boone, "both well pleased to have met, and I have a far higher opinion of his wise practical views than has hitherto been possible, only knowing him through others."

This meeting was the beginning of a close and loyal friendship between the two families. Boone had gained considerably in health during his travels and the Bishop strongly urged his return to China after his furlough. "It seems now," said Boone, "more certain than I thought." The Bishop told him that it was his hope to secure a rest house or sanitarium in some healthy locality to which missionaries could go *before* a breakdown came.

Some years later Mrs. Boone recorded her memories of these London days:

"It was my very good fortune to meet both the Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky in London in 1878, while they were enroute to China, and my husband and myself were coming home. The Bishop's wife was taking a much needed rest, after a very fatiguing year in the United States. We spent about six weeks there and occupied ourselves in sight-seeing. I recall my gratification in having so tremendously well informed a companion in our rambles. It mattered not what we saw or where we went, the Bishop *knew* all about everything.

"One's first visit to London always includes the Zoo, and there I can see the Bishop now in memory, enthusiastically expounding the habits of the snakes,

pointing out their beautiful coloring; and so it was with everything, historical, horticultural, artistic; he had real knowledge of all he saw, not ostentatiously displayed, but naturally in an ordinary conversation.

"It was the year of the second Pan-Anglican, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was so impressed with the deep learning of our Bishop, that he was reported as remarking that 'the Bishop of Shanghai is one of six really learned men in the world.'²

"There were many and great services during that time, but the Bishop always avoided the procession, and we used to get what sittings we could find among the great congregation. However, he was generally discovered, and a vergers sent to invite the Bishop and his 'chaplain' to come up higher."

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel held its annual meeting in 1878 immediately before the opening of the Lambeth Conference, in order that the visiting bishops might attend. At the morning session on June 28th in St. James' Hall Schereschewsky spoke on China. As there were other speakers his time was limited. He was not, he said, in the habit of making short speeches, for in China no one thought anything of a sermon which did not last an hour and a half. "However," as the *English Guardian* said, "the right reverend prelate addressed himself manfully to the

² A similar remark, to the effect that Schereschewsky was "one of the six most learned Orientalists in the world," was made by Max Müller to Bishop W. S. Perry in 1888. See Perry's *Bishops of the American Church*, 1897, p. 251.

task and accomplished it within the time allotted to him." He made an admirably clear appraisal of the forces working for and against Christianity in China, followed by a summary of the accomplishments of Christian missions in general, and in particular of those of the Anglican Communion. It was widely reported in the English Church papers and commended as the feature of the session. Bishop Bedell of Ohio made this comment on it:

"Some English Churchmen were evidently astonished to learn that our labors had preceded those of the Church of England, and that, according to ancient precedents, an English bishop officiating to native converts in Shanghai could not regard himself otherwise than as intruding on a missionary diocese already supplied by an episcopal head. The facts were stated by the Bishop of Shanghai, but the inference was left undrawn. Our brethren were not slow, however, in noting it. He also stated that the Bible had been translated into the Mandarin dialect. . . . So modestly was the statement made that no one would have dreamed that he had any part in the noble achievement."

The Conference at Lambeth opened on July 2nd. On July 3rd the subject for consideration was "The relation to each other of missionary bishops and of missionaries in various branches of the Anglican Communion acting in the same country." Schereschewsky opened the discussion. Since the proceedings of the Conference were secret we do not know what he said,

but he must certainly have set forth the state of affairs in Shanghai. In 1874 our General Convention had decided to call our bishop in China the Bishop of Shanghai, as in fact he had been since Bishop Boone took up residence there in 1845. In the English settlement in Shanghai there was an English Church with an English congregation and an English chaplain. In 1875 chaplain and congregation offered their church to Bishop Russell, the English Bishop in North China (consecrated in 1872) as his cathedral. He accepted it and was "enthroned" in it in May, 1875, although he did not take up residence in the city. That there should be thus two Anglican "Bishops of Shanghai" was noted, even in the English Church press, as not only an "uncatholic anomaly," but one for which the British were alone responsible. The situation was further complicated by a small work among the Chinese in Shanghai over which the English bishop had oversight.

The subject was referred to a committee whose conclusions were commended by the Conference; namely, that it was "most undesirable" that any branch of the Anglican Communion should "for the future send a bishop or missionaries to a town or district already occupied by a bishop of another branch of the Anglican Communion," but in countries where bishops of two such branches were already at work, each "should have control of his own clergy and their converts and congregations." Although this left the situation in Shanghai as it was for the present, the

provision "for the future" gave Schereschewsky an opportunity later, as we shall see, to protest successfully against a subsequent enthronement of an English bishop in Shanghai.

On the evening of July 3rd the Lord Mayor gave a dinner to all the bishops at the Mansion House. Each guest was announced by a master of ceremonies, who made queer work of some of the names. "Fortunately," said Bishop Bedell, "the Bishop of Shanghai gave his title, not his name," or the master of ceremonies "would have abandoned his office in despair." Later Schereschewsky found that when he signed his surname to a cablegram he was charged for two words because of its length. Thereafter he simply signed "S."

The Conference closed on July 27th. Toward the end of August the Schereschewskys went to France, spent a week in Paris, and on September 8th embarked at Marseilles. They reached Point de Galle, Ceylon, on the 27th. On October 5th they were at Singapore, and after touching at Saigon and Hong-kong, arrived at Shanghai on October 20th, all well and Mrs. Schereschewsky's health much improved.

XIII

JESSFIELD FARM

AT THE time of the Bishop's arrival in Shanghai most of the property of the Episcopal Church there was in what was known as the Hongkew section or "the American settlement." When it had been acquired by Bishop Boone it was in the country. Now it was in the midst of a thriving business district, with wharves and godowns only a few blocks away. It was no longer suited for educational institutions; there was no room for new buildings; all the old buildings were badly in need of repair, and there was no money to repair them; but the value of the property had increased enormously.

Hence the Bishop decided to look for another site for the proposed college and the mission headquarters, to lease the Hongkew property for business purposes (except the church, in which services were to be continued), and to borrow money to buy a new site and erect new buildings. No money was on hand for this; all that had been raised for the college was for endowment and current expenses. He proposed to pay the interest on the borrowed money, as well as gradually to repay the principal, with the income from the leased Hongkew property.

That all this could be readily done was obvious to the Bishop and his Standing Committee, which at the time consisted of Dr. Nelson and Elliot Thomson. What at first troubled them was whether the new site should be in the vicinity of Shanghai or in a wholly different locality. The north of China had long been regarded by Schereschewsky as a possible territory for the chief missionary endeavors of the Episcopal Church. Its healthful climate and the fact that Mandarin was spoken there were in its favor. In November, 1878, he and Thomson went up to Chefoo, in Shantung Province, to look over the possibilities of establishing the college there and moving the mission headquarters thither; but after thorough, indeed anxious consideration, it was decided to remain in or near Shanghai, although the Bishop deemed it essential to have a vacation house or sanitarium, as he called it, at Chefoo, where the missionaries might recuperate from the effects of the Shanghai climate.

The problem of the site of the new college does not seem to have bothered the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. They were willing to leave that to the Bishop. What did bother them was his proposed financial arrangements. They agreed that new premises were needed, but not that they should be paid for as the Bishop proposed. In his letters to them he spoke of borrowing on the Hongkew lease. What, they asked, does borrowing on a lease mean? They had never heard of it in New York and naturally supposed it meant raising money by a mortgage, and to

mortgage the Hongkew property they thought unwise. In their opinion it would be better to sell it outright and buy new land and erect new buildings with the proceeds. To the Bishop and his Standing Committee this was folly. The Bishop "would be ridiculed here," said Thomson, if he sold. The Hongkew property was certain to increase in value and to be a continually advantageous source of income for the Mission. To sell now would be "highly imprudent." Borrowing on a lease had no terrors for them.

This method of raising money would seem to have been an established Chinese custom; at any rate it was well understood in Shanghai; and it had nothing to do with a mortgage. It was simply this: persons in Shanghai, knowing the value of the property and the amount it was to be leased for, and believing in the integrity of the Bishop and the Mission, were willing to lend money without any other security than the Bishop's written word that interest would be paid and a part of the principal annually repaid out of the rent from the leased property. No lien on the property was created. To the Foreign Committee in New York this sounded like a speculator's dream. Even after it was explained and re-explained they still felt that a mortgage must be meant. Letters followed cablegrams warning the Bishop not to mortgage anything or to involve them in debt, and urging him to sell.

The Bishop and his Standing Committee replied that there was no thought of a mortgage and, as for

getting them in debt, the income from the leased property would, in ten years, pay off interest and principal of the entire amount to be borrowed, and the Mission would be in possession of the old property as well as of the new. Finally, in March, 1879, the Foreign Committee decided that the Bishop should ask the advice of two Shanghai business men, John G. Purdon and Frank B. Forbes, and that at least one of them must agree with him before he proceed.

This was highly distasteful to the Bishop. As Dr. Nelson wrote, Messrs. Purdon and Forbes "care little and know nothing about missions and missionaries, and hold them both at a discount. To have our acts, therefore, referred to them for revision is nuts for them to crack." These gentlemen, however, agreed that everything tended to show that the Hongkew property would continue to increase in value and that "to sell it would be a very great mistake." Purdon put down in writing that so strong was his opinion against selling that, if money could be obtained in no other way, he would unhesitatingly advise raising it by a mortgage.

Thereupon the Bishop wrote somewhat caustically to the Foreign Committee that he hoped that, having thus been assured of the wisdom of the plan, they might in future "feel sufficient confidence in their Missionary Bishop and the Standing Committee here to accept their judgment in these matters and find it unnecessary to refer these questions to others." The Foreign Committee maintained that their appeal to

Purdon and Forbes had been for the protection of the Bishop quite as much as for themselves.

To the everlasting good fortune of the Mission, however, the Bishop had not waited for the approval of the Foreign Committee or the Shanghai merchants to take the first and perhaps the most significant step toward the realization of his plan. In January, 1879, he had the chance to lease a portion of the Hongkew property for fifteen years at a very favorable rental, which he did, and early in February he closed with an offer of a thirteen-acre piece of land known as Jessfield Farm, on the Soochow Creek five miles from the Shanghai waterfront. It had been the estate of a wealthy merchant; on it was a substantial dwelling surrounded by beautiful trees and shrubbery and a fine lawn; it was connected with the city by a good road; it was said to be one of the healthiest spots in the neighborhood; in short it was an ideal place for a college.

The price was 6,500 taels or something less than \$10,000 (a tael at the time being reckoned as not quite \$1.50). A few days after the Bishop bought it a company wishing to put up a cotton mill offered him 3,000 taels more than he had paid for it. But no similar location was to be had, and he wisely held on to it.

Immediately the purchase was announced to the Foreign Committee they were much exercised as to where the Bishop had gotten the money for it. He explained that 2,420 taels had been borrowed on the

Hongkew lease, 1,800 were from funds on hand for current expenses, and 2,280 were funds lying idle in the bank to the account of the Hankow-Wuchang station, from the previous sale of a house in Hankow. His justification for the temporary use of money intended for other purposes was simply that of necessity. But the Foreign Committee, as we shall see, continued to worry both themselves and the Bishop about the use of the Hankow-Wuchang fund.

Having secured a site, of which possession was taken early in April, 1879, the next thing was to put up the buildings. For this also money must be found. Here again loans on the Hongkew lease were forthcoming. Ten thousand taels were raised to begin with, of which 8,000 were from former students in the mission schools, and 2,000 from a foreign resident of the city. The next year, some 6,000 more were borrowed. The interest was high: 9% on about two-thirds of the total amount and 8% on the rest. But when the whole of the Hongkew property was leased (as it was by December, 1879) the Mission received 3,400 taels a year from it, which, as can readily be seen, was sufficient to pay the interest on the sum borrowed and repay the principal within less than a decade.

On Easter Monday, April 14, 1879, the corner stone of the college, which the Bishop had decided to call St. John's, was laid. The Bishop and a large party were invited to voyage to the scene of action on a steam launch via the Soochow Creek by one of the foreign residents of the city, who, according to the



SCHERESCHEWSKY HALL, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY
Erected in 1894 on the site of Bishop Schereschewsky's original college building,
and later named for him.

reporter of *The North China Herald*, "contributed not a little to the enjoyment of the trip by his efforts to keep the launch off the mud banks and shoals. . . . All obstacles were at length overcome and Jessfield was reached only about half an hour after the appointed time."

The Captain of the U.S.S. *Monocacy* had lent flags for a canopy, and there was a grand procession of vested clergy, Chinese and foreign, preceded by thirteen Chinese candidates for orders "attired in black cassocks and wearing white scarfs with a large cross in gilt on the part covering the breast." Speeches in English and Chinese followed the laying of the stone. Said the Bishop, "We want an institution to train youth for the service of Christ. I believe the true apostles of China must be natives." He added prophetically, "This is but a beginning, but many great institutions have had as small a beginning as this."

The dwelling house on the college grounds was ready for the Bishop and his family by June. (They had been living up to this time in a rented house on Hankow Road within the English settlement. It was there they received General and Mrs. Grant in the spring on their tour around the world.) The newly-erected college building consisted of a quadrangle with an enclosed forecourt as well as an inner court in Chinese style. On the ground floor were classrooms, dining-room, library, and a temporary chapel. In the dormitory upstairs was accommodation for

about eighty boys. It was near enough completion for the students from the two boarding schools, Baird and Duane Halls, to move in on September 1, 1879.

On that day the college was very simply opened by the Bishop and Mr. Yen with prayers and an address. A new house for Yen had been erected on the premises and the boys were placed under his supervision. The other two members of the faculty, Daniel M. Bates and William S. Sayres, whom the Bishop had recruited in America and who had arrived in Shanghai early in November, 1879, were not expected to begin their work at the college until houses were completed for them. They therefore continued their study of the language in the city. Before their removal to Jessfield it was decided that Sayres was to go to Wuchang, and William Boone, who returned to China in November, 1879, was to replace him at St. John's.

On December 12, 1879, the Bishop, Yen, Boone, and Bates met for the first time as a faculty and drew up a prospectus and scheme of study for the two classes about to be organized. History, geography, and evidences of Christianity were to be taught by Bates; mathematics, physics, chemistry, and astronomy by Yen; English, philosophy, logic, and international law by Boone, who was also to be chaplain. The Bishop was head of the Chinese classical department and president of the college. Although instruction in all subjects was to be given in Chinese, the students were also to be taught English.

Bates, writing to *The Living Church*, on December

23, 1879, said: "The aim . . . is to make the course of study as full and rich as in any institution at home." Much is included "which would be studied at home in a preparatory school. But no such thing . . . exists here in China; so we must let the college course embrace it by making the entire term of study six years. . . . Throughout the course students will continue to study the Chinese classics. . . . There is also . . . a theological class. . . . This is the most important department of our work, as the training of a native ministry enters largely into the hopes of the Bishop in establishing the college."

"This," said Bates in summary, "is the actual status of the college as it now stands: a fine site of land, but containing only the barely necessary buildings; four instructors, sixty-two students, . . . a few textbooks. This is all. We have no chapel, no library building, no books, no apparatus, no scientific instruments; and, what is worse, no money to buy them with."

Nevertheless, as Bates felt, it was, even as it stood, a magnificent achievement, "due to the untiring energy of Bishop Schereschewsky, who has driven his way through such difficulties as would have made many men throw up the enterprise in despair."

"Full organization," as the Bishop put it, began on February 16, 1880. In the Chinese classical department, which had functioned throughout the previous term, the Bishop was assisted by four Chinese teachers. In the theological school, in which instruction had begun on October 28, 1879, the Bishop was pro-

fessor of Church history, Dr. Nelson of theology, Mr. Thomson of the Bible. William Boone, after his arrival, was made resident head of this department. In 1880 there were thirteen students in it. From the first the Bishop had hoped to have a medical department, and in the summer of 1880 he succeeded in getting Dr. Henry W. Boone, elder brother of William Boone, to come to begin it. It opened in October, 1880, with nine students.

The bishop also saw that a more thorough course in the English language, because of its commercial importance, would attract the sons of well-to-do merchants, and, in the same month, October, 1880, a department exclusively for the study of English was introduced. Mr. A. S. Koeh, a Chinese educated at Kenyon College, was engaged as chief teacher in it. He was assisted by other members of the college faculty. It opened with six students; before the end of the academic year there were twenty-two, all paying tuition.

This was almost as significant a beginning as that of the college itself. It led to the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in all departments of the college and in innumerable other colleges subsequently established. As a result, practically every educated Chinese is, and for the past generation has been, bilingual, using English almost as fluently as his own tongue. That this has made for friendship and understanding between China and the English-speaking world there can be no shadow of doubt. It has also

enabled Chinese in the professions to keep abreast of current developments in the West, which would have been entirely impossible had it been necessary for them to wait for translations into Chinese.

In 1881 the college received a gift of \$6,000 for a chapel and an appropriation of \$2,000 for scientific equipment. In 1883 came a gift of \$6,000 for a medical school.

"This college," wrote the Bishop in September, 1883, "should be placed upon such a basis as to exercise a great influence in the Empire of China—to draw to itself the minds and hearts of Chinese young men to be shaped and moulded by all the influences that Christianity can bring to bear. Among these influences the teaching of the modern sciences is to be regarded as of vital importance. Religion and true science go hand in hand."

Another of his educational plans was the union of the Mission's two girls' boarding schools into one and the erection of a building—St. Mary's Hall—for it at Jessfield, to be separated, however, from the college by a brick wall. St. Mary's was opened in June, 1881, with Miss S. N. Wong (afterward Mrs. F. L. Hawks Pott) as principal.

Although the Bishop was, perforce, president of St. John's, he felt he ought not to retain the post, partly because his other duties were more than sufficient to absorb his energies, and partly because, as he said, "I have nothing of the schoolmaster in my composition, nor have I received the training nor had

the experience to fit me for the position." He was desirous of securing "a man of thorough scientific attainments, trained as a teacher." He had in mind, he said, the Rev. Joseph H. Coit of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, who had spoken to him, while he was in America, of a desire to take part in mission work. But the Foreign Committee found that Mr. Coit's brother, the rector of St. Paul's, was so dependent on him for the conduct of the school that he could not leave. Nor were they able to find anyone at the time "of like abilities."

Almost a year and a half after the purchase of Jessfield the Foreign Committee were still discussing the irregularity of the Bishop's use for that purpose of funds for the Hankow-Wuchang station and urging him to replace them as soon as possible.

The Bishop replied with some spirit: "I wrote you more than a year ago that I had used this sum. . . . Consequently I do not well understand why the Committee should be 'startled' as if it were a new discovery. The Committee now orders me to pay back this amount as if it were a personal loan for my own use and as if I had special funds to meet the emergency." "Strictly speaking" it was not a loan at all. "It was really the application of missionary money belonging to one station, where at the time it was not required and was lying idle, to the urgent needs of another station." He hoped the Committee would realize that all his transactions had been "in behalf of

and for the benefit of the Mission," and in no sense personal or private.

"I would respectfully remind the Committee that I have secured for the Church a valuable property and erected college buildings . . . and furnished accommodation for four or five missionary families, without any provision in the shape of ready money to do all this. It therefore seems to me that the Committee should not be too ready to censure a transaction which, although admitting that it may be considered somewhat irregular, was done with the best of motives, under a most urgent necessity, and for the benefit and best interests of our Mission."

The Bishop's letter was considered at the meeting of the Foreign Committee in September, 1880, and a resolution adopted to the effect that the Committee "have been very far from intending to censure the Bishop," and that their recommendations have been made "simply from a sense of their duty in protecting the interests of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society." They went on with this graceful, if tardy, acknowledgment of the Bishop's achievement: "They further very heartily express their appreciation of the admirable manner in which the Bishop has conceived and carried out the purchase of the Jessfield property and the erection of the buildings thereon of St. John's College."

Had the Committee been nearer to the Bishop and his problems they might, perhaps, have sent such a resolution earlier. William Boone had written to

them almost a year before: "Don't discourage our Bishop more than you can possibly help, for he gets discouraged as it is, and needs to be strengthened on that side, though so strong on so many others."

In the handbook on China issued by the National Council of the Episcopal Church in 1932 it is said of Schereschewsky's purchase of Jessfield and the establishment of St. John's:

"No wiser piece of work was ever done in the mission field."

XIV

NOTHING BY HALVES

BESIDES leasing and buying property, and erecting and administering a college, the Bishop had his episcopal duties of visitation and oversight to perform, not merely in the vicinity of Shanghai but also at Hankow and Wuchang, six hundred miles away. Every Sunday, wherever he happened to be, he preached in Chinese, frequently twice, which he greatly enjoyed doing. Moreover, he found time—miraculously it seems—for translation.

In the early summer of 1880 he was visited by his old friend Bishop Burdon of Hongkong, with whom he had translated the Prayer Book into Mandarin at Peking. They were both now working in centers where Mandarin was not spoken, and both were convinced that there was need not only of the Prayer Book, but also the Bible, a hymnal, a book of homilies, a book of private devotions, and a set of catechisms in Easy Wenli—that is, in a simple form of the literary or book language, which was understood everywhere in China by all who could read, no matter what the local dialect. They agreed to collaborate in providing these books, and Schereschewsky, in order that he might get as much time as possible for the work,

appointed William Boone, his chaplain, secretary, and assistant "in all that can properly be devolved upon another."

He had already begun work on the Prayer Book in Easy Wenli, and he completed it, single handed, by November, 1880. The Prayer Book hitherto in use at Shanghai was in the Shanghai colloquial, which educated Chinese, said the Bishop, looked on as educated Englishmen would look on a Prayer Book in the Yorkshire dialect.

Before July, 1881, he had also issued in Easy Wenli four catechisms: on the creed, the commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments, based on older catechisms prepared by Bishop Boone in the Shanghai colloquial; and he had begun the translation of the Apocrypha.

Everyone who came in contact with him at this period of his life was impressed with his vigor and drive. Soon after his arrival in Shanghai, Thomson wrote, "The Bishop seems full of energy, and zealous for a renewal and pressing forward . . . of our work." Dean Butcher of the English Church in Shanghai spoke of the energetic, vigorous head and moving spirit of the American Mission. Said Bates: "However he may have felt that translating the Bible was his special vocation, his genius is just as surely shown in the force with which he carries forward the work here." One of the Chinese clergy, H. N. Wu, wrote quaintly, "Bishop Schereschewsky is very quick in acting his affairs." Mrs. William Boone was struck by

his abounding vitality, "restless, nervous, never still, except at his study table." Said her husband, "With his temperament he cannot do anything by halves."

Mrs. Boone's observation that the Bishop was still when in his study, must be taken with some qualification. A long table, covered with dictionaries and works of reference, ran down the middle of the room, and the Bishop's custom, according to Mr. Liao, the Chinese scholar who worked with him at this time, was to pace up and down beside it, dictating. He was always ready to stop and listen to suggestions on literary form, but never did so until they were offered. Then usually a spirited debate ensued in which, more often than not, Mr. Liao was constrained to admit that the Bishop's usage was the better.¹

Bishop William Lawrence remembers, as a young man in 1877, meeting Schereschewsky in his father's house in Longwood. "He was," says Bishop Lawrence, "the liveliest man with the liveliest manner and brain of any person that I had met up to that time."

Miss Caroline Schereschewsky speaks of her father as "quick in all his apprehensions, quick tempered, of great energy of thought and physical expression," "no diplomat, . . . very straightforward and sincere."

¹ Mr. Liao later told the Rev. Dr. L. B. Ridgely that in translating the Prayer Book the Bishop was puzzled as to how to get a reverent and sonorous effect out of the thrice repeated monosyllable "sen," which is the Chinese for the English dissyllable "holy." It was at Liao's suggestion that the exclamatory particle "tsai" was added. "Sentsai, Sentsai, Sentsai," has proved as acceptable and as well fitted to musical settings as the English, "Holy, Holy, Holy."

And she gives this description of him as she remembers him in her childhood, in the early days of his episcopate: "He was . . . of medium height, he was very broad and deep-chested and had a fine head, a clear olive complexion, brilliant dark grey eyes, and black hair and beard, which became silver white in after years. He was very nervous and energetic in all his movements, and spoke with great rapidity."

Although he spoke idiomatic English with entire fluency, he spoke it with some accent. Chinese, on the testimony of the Chinese themselves, he spoke like a native.

The beard which his daughter mentions he seems to have worn, if not during his entire adult life, certainly from the time of his arrival in China. He was not peculiar in this. The three young Englishmen with whom he explored the Yangtze in 1861 wore beards, as did the French priests whom they met on the journey. As Captain Blakiston said, everybody in China wore a beard who could manage to grow one.

Dr. Joseph W. Schereschewsky adds these particulars concerning his father: He was five feet nine inches in height, weighed about a hundred and fifty pounds, and was of a spare physique. He had perfect teeth and never went to a dentist in his life, except to have them cleaned. He seldom slept more than six hours. He was quick tempered, and impatient with stupidity. Faulty reasoning, foolish questions, and failure to use one's brains made him mad. But he was equally quick to make amends if he lost his temper. He sel-

dom bore resentment, and was swift to find excuses for others. He had immense powers of concentration. When at work he could be diverted by nothing. He was particular to a degree about personal appearance. Spots on his own clothes or on his family's irked him. To the end of his life, even when he became physically helpless, he was insistent that he be kept scrupulously neat.

He was a fiend on punctuality. Always prompt himself, he expected promptness from others. When Dr. Joseph W. Schereschewsky was a lad he was given a small Swiss watch, and whenever he went out he had to see that his time was identical with that of his father, who always asked when he intended to come back. He had to set a time, and on his return the first thing he did was to report to his father. He says he learned this lesson well, but sadly admits that he has never achieved his father's standard of neatness.

The Bishop was not without a streak of Puckishness. One night at Jessfield the watchman, whose duty it was to go about the grounds at intervals beating a hollow bamboo tube, sat down on the Bishop's veranda and fell asleep. The Bishop, who regularly sat up late reading or studying, not hearing him on his rounds, went out and found him slumbering. He gently removed his cap and bamboo, and derived no little amusement next morning from the watchman's attempts to explain the mysterious disappearance of these articles.

Mr. Wu, whose characterization of the Bishop has already been quoted, went on to describe the Bishop's wife: "Mrs. Schereschewsky is a most active, kind-hearted, and lovely lady. . . . Everyone who knows anything of her likes her." Which was hardly an overstatement.

She did everything possible to lighten her husband's duties, acting as his amanuensis, in spite of trouble with her eyes, from the beginning to the end of his episcopate—indeed to the end of his life, except for about half a year in 1880, when William Boone took over this work. She likewise interested herself in the girls' day schools while she was in Shanghai, and later, in Wuchang, supervised the women's work there.

Despite his unusual stamina the Bishop found the heat in Shanghai trying. He suffered so severely from dysentery during August and September, 1879, that Mrs. Schereschewsky wrote, "We have grave doubts whether, with a constitution impaired by long residence in China, he will be able to stand the Shanghai climate." However, by the latter part of October he had recovered. He then went off to Peking for a few weeks, returning on Thanksgiving Day, "much benefited in body and mind." He had seen his old friend Blodget, whom he told that he hoped to be able hereafter to spend his summers in Peking translating. But the work of the Mission prevented the fulfilment of this hope. He continued to have occasional attacks of

intestinal trouble. In March, 1881, William Boone reported that the Bishop had suffered from diarrhea for six or eight months but had little idea of taking care of himself.

But occasional ill health was the least of his tribulations.

XV

TROUBLES

FRIENDLY as Bishop Schereschewsky was with Bishop Burdon and other English missionaries, he was not satisfied with the policy of the English Church in relation to episcopal jurisdiction in China. He had, as we recall, discussed the matter at Lambeth in 1878. In 1880 a new English bishopric in China was created and the Rev. George E. Moule chosen as bishop. It was reported in the English papers that he was to bear the title of "Bishop of Mid-China," and was to be "enthroned" in the English Church or so-called "Cathedral" in Shanghai, as Bishop Russell had been in 1875. Schereschewsky at once cabled to Archbishop Tait of Canterbury protesting against both the title and the proposed enthronement.

The Archbishop replied that the title was not "Bishop of Mid-China," but "Bishop of the Church of England in Mid-China," to which, said Schereschewsky, no reasonable objection could be made. On the subject of enthronement the Archbishop answered vaguely that it was proper for an English bishop to be "connected" with the English Church in Shanghai. Thereupon Schereschewsky repeated his protest, saying that enthronement would imply that Shanghai



MEMORIAL ARCH AND SOCIAL HALL, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

The arch was erected in 1929 in commemoration of the semi-centennial of the founding of St. John's by Bishop Schereschewsky. The Social Hall was completed the same year.

was Bishop Moule's see, which would not only "be contrary to ancient usage and precedent," but also, in his opinion, "contrary to the words and the intention of the Lambeth Resolution," and sure to afford to non-Anglicans occasion to point with ridicule to the anomaly of two Anglican bishops occupying the same see.

The enthronement was not held. This was the first step in the settlement of a problem whose final solution was not reached until 1908.

The intrusion of an English bishop at Shanghai was not the worst of Bishop Schereschewsky's troubles. There was, in the first place, the difficulty of securing recruits for the Mission and the means to sustain them. He was often, as he said, at his wits' end to know what to do, if he were not to abandon work of long standing. The feebleness of the support he received from the Church at home deeply discouraged him.

And he was harassed by what he felt to be the unreasonable attitude of the Foreign Committee toward finances. They had not only come near to rebuking him, as we have seen, for his use of funds for the college, but they also found fault with his method of spending those annually appropriated for other purposes. In 1879, for instance, his accounts showed that payments had been made in excess of appropriations on a score of items, but, on the other hand, that a surplus was left on as many others. He maintained that he was justified in spending the gross amount,

even if he spent more on some things and less on others than the sums stipulated. But the Committee urged a rigid adherence to individual appropriations. "You have no idea," wrote William Boone to the Committee, "how strongly Bishop Schereschewsky feels wronged by what he cannot see you are warranted in asking." It would seem that under the provisions of the canons on missions passed at the General Convention of 1877 the Bishop's contention was justified.

Still another difficulty, and one which caused him acute distress of mind, was his inability to get along with one of his presbyters.

Dr. Nelson was the senior member of the Mission. He had ministered much to the American community in Shanghai, and had gained repute and standing among them. His home was famous for its hospitality. He had many friends in America. He had been the minority candidate for the bishopric in 1875. His age, however, had been against him. As Miss Fay dryly observed at the time, he would make "a very nice bishop," if he could be persuaded that "the model of a mission as it was thirty years ago is no longer the model."

Although he had come to China in 1851, he had returned to America early in 1859 and, owing to the outbreak of the Civil War, had remained there till the beginning of 1867. He had met Schereschewsky in New York in 1859, just before the latter embarked for China, but did not see him again until the spring of 1868 when Schereschewsky spent four

months in Shanghai. That was the extent of their acquaintance, which had been entirely friendly, before Schereschewsky became bishop.

Mrs. Schereschewsky's relations with the Nelson family had been equally brief, but more intimate. She had stayed with them during the first month or two after her arrival in China in 1867. Three years later she wrote: "Mrs. Nelson's children all seem to me like my own brothers and sisters. Her kindness and love, when I came a stranger to strange shores, will always be one of my sunniest memories."

Soon after entering upon his episcopal duties the Bishop felt that the Nelsons' previously friendly attitude had changed. "The only reason for it, as I suppose," he said, "is the fact that I was made bishop and not Dr. Nelson." This supposition failed to do justice to other factors in the situation.

The Mission had been without effective oversight from the death of Bishop Boone in 1864 till the arrival of Schereschewsky as Bishop in 1878; for Bishop Boone's successor, Bishop Williams, "the most saintly of men," as Schereschewsky called him, had lived in Japan and exercised but little influence in China. Hence, as Schereschewsky said, "Our missionaries had got to be like the Israelites in the time of the Judges, 'Every man did what was right in his own eyes.'" He himself had done so; from the time of his settling in Pekin he had been left almost wholly to his own devices. It was but natural that Dr. Nelson, his senior in the Mission, and long used to doing

what was right in his own eyes, as well as advising his younger colleagues, should not fall in with all the schemes of a bishop who was suspected of not always being practical.

With some of these schemes he frankly disagreed, but not with all. He was in hearty accord with the establishment of the college at Jessfield and with the Bishop's method of raising money for it. He wrote at length to the Foreign Committee in explanation and defense of it. But he did not think it wise to move certain other mission activities thither. In particular, he and his family did not want to move there themselves—they had lived for years in "the American Settlement" and all their roots were there—nor did he want to give up his ministrations to the American Community. The Bishop's contention was that the American Community could well afford to support a clergyman of their own, and that it was a questionable procedure to pay the salary of a missionary to minister to them from funds given for work among Chinese.

And there was a difference in Churchmanship. Dr. Nelson was an old-fashioned Virginia evangelical, and he feared, quite rightly, that under Bishop Schereschewsky the Mission would gradually lose its hitherto exclusively Low Church character. Now the Bishop made no attempt to change Dr. Nelson's or anyone else's views or practices. As Thomson said, "So far as I or Dr. Nelson differ from the Bishop in Church views, the Bishop is very liberal. We are not

at all interfered with in our work. We go on as we have always done." But the Bishop did not hesitate to declare that, in his opinion, the China Mission—indeed any mission of the Church—ought to be representative of the Church and not of any party in it. The two young men from the Berkeley Divinity School, whom he had enlisted, were much stiffer Churchmen than Nelson and Thomson, and William Boone, whom he had persuaded to return to China, though trained in Virginia, would probably have been thought a High Churchman by his father, and was so thought by Dr. Nelson, who was genuinely apprehensive of the direction in which the Mission might develop under Schereschewsky's leadership.

And there were personal factors involved, which, at this distance, it is unprofitable if not impossible to weigh.

At any rate, the Bishop wrote, in November, 1880, "From the time of my arrival [in 1878] I have never felt that I had either Dr. Nelson's sympathy or support." "Owing perhaps to weakness on my part or excessive good nature," he said later, "I did not and I believed I could not well assert very much my episcopal authority. Had I done so, I have no doubt . . . quarrels would have been inevitable, and I was very anxious to avoid quarrels."

During the course of 1880 it looked as if a quarrel were unavoidable. In the spring of that year Dr. Nelson committed what certainly seems to have been a tactical blunder, if nothing more. He wrote to the

Foreign Committee in New York informing them that one of the houses on the leased Hongkew mission property was being used for improper purposes. He did not say so, but his readers inferred that it was a house of prostitution. The Bishop, he said, had done nothing about it. He added, "The Bishop, under the new Canon, claims the whole, sole, and entire control of all property, money, arrangements, etc., of the Mission, and of course all these affairs rest with him."

The Foreign Committee sent the letter to the Bishop, who at once called a meeting of the missionaries. It appeared that the house referred to was a shop in which opium was sold, which was bad, but not so bad as the Foreign Committee had supposed. It had been opened contrary to the terms of the lease and without the knowledge of the Bishop (who proceeded to have it closed). As to his claiming sole control of "property, money, arrangements, etc., of the Mission," Dr. Nelson had misunderstood him. He claimed sole authority in determining what work each missionary should do, which he felt was his duty under the Canon, but in all matters concerning property he neither claimed the right to act independently of his Standing Committee, nor had he ever done so. The other members of the Mission bore witness to this, and some of them went further and wrote to the Foreign Committee that in practically all matters of mission policy he took counsel with the other members of the Mission, made no important move without

their approval, and dropped his own schemes if they were not approved of.

He told Dr. Nelson that he felt that his writing to the Foreign Committee behind his back was neither fair, honorable, nor gentlemanly. And Dr. Nelson, being a gentleman, apologized.

This might have ended the matter, had not a further difficulty arisen over one of the girls' schools. It had been founded by Bishop Boone, closed early in the Civil War, and reopened in 1876. Dr. Nelson's daughter, Miss Mary Nelson, had raised the money needed for its reopening and had been put in charge of it. In October, 1880, the Bishop and his Standing Committee, which then consisted of Dr. Nelson, Elliot Thomson, and William Boone, decided to unite this school with the other girls' school in the Mission and move them both to Jessfield, under the new name of St. Mary's Hall. Dr. Nelson had previously expressed doubts of the advisability of this, and Miss Nelson now strenuously objected to it. The grounds of her objection are not clear, but they were so strong that she refused to move. The school was in a peculiar sense her child, and her reluctance to have it lose its identity can readily be appreciated, even while we recognize the wisdom of the Bishop's plan. And it is much easier now, in the light of the notable history of St. Mary's Hall, to discern that wisdom.

Miss Nelson's stand exhausted, in the words of William Boone, the Bishop's "long tried patience," and he requested her resignation, which she gave him

at once. Dr. Nelson handed in his resignation, unasked, a fortnight later. They left China in January, 1881. At the Bishop's suggestion the Board of Missions pensioned Dr. Nelson at his full salary.

"As an onlooker," said Thomson, "it does not strike me that Bishop Schereschewsky has acted in an unkind way to Dr. Nelson. I do not think there has been any Church party feeling in the treatment of Dr. Nelson, for I am what is called a Low Churchman, and certainly Bishop Schereschewsky is ever very kind and liberal to me."

Painful as the affair had been, it had the effect of drawing from the Bishop, in the course of a long letter to Joshua Kimber, then secretary of the Foreign Committee, his attitude on matters of Churchmanship:

"Loyalty to the Church and her ways ought to be taken into serious consideration in the appointment of missionaries. . . . I simply mean loyalty, or not hankering after dissenters and their ways and not decidedly advanced High Church views. My position, I believe, is well known in the Church. My views I have never concealed. . . . Whilst I am a High Churchman, if names are to be used at all, or rather an orthodox Anglican, I have always advocated charity and toleration to those who belong to different schools. My principle is comprehension of the widest kind, provided it is within the boundaries of our authorized standards. I believe and have always believed that the three parties have all their legitimate position in our Catholic comprehensive Church. But there are limits

to this comprehension. Advanced ritualism so called, the adoption of Romanist doctrines and practices, the reintroduction of medieval corruptions and superstitions on the one hand, and the adoption of Presbyterian views and practices on the other, are equally disloyal to our Church. . . .

"I mention all this because Dr. Nelson will most likely make the assertion that I have been in opposition to him and his family on account of his Church views. Now, I have never shown the slightest antagonism to him or any other member of our Mission who belongs to the same school, on account of difference of opinion. I have never made the slightest attempt to force my views upon anyone. Mr. Thomson and Mrs. Thomson, Mr. Yen, and Mr. Wu are all Low Churchmen. I have never had any difficulty with any of them. . . . I have the highest opinion of Mr. Thomson as a devoted, zealous missionary, as a true Christian, as a thorough gentleman, although he differs from me in certain points more perhaps than Dr. Nelson. . . . I appeal to all our missionaries. I have not interfered with anyone as to the manner of conducting the services or as to the doctrines taught, although I had a right to do so. Nay more, I have asked Dr. Nelson to teach a class in the theological department at St. John's."

Another result of the Nelson difficulty was the proposal, made by the Bishop and Standing Committee, of a brief set of rules for missionaries, the most significant of which, and one whose later adoption

and continued use have proved its wisdom, was that which provided that all newcomers were to be examined in their knowledge of the language at fixed periods after their arrival, "and their stay in the field to be dependent on their diligence and success."

Much as the Bishop had been troubled by the Nelson case, he was even more cast down by the withdrawal of Bates in April, 1881, three months after the Nelsons had left. Bates, as we recall, was one of the two young men from the Berkeley Divinity School whom the Bishop had secured to teach at St. John's. He was the first man the Bishop ordained to the priesthood—on July 13, 1879. He had shown remarkable aptitude for the language, and in every way gave promise of becoming an effective teacher and missionary. His letters reveal him as a man of culture, ability, and discernment. Said William Boone, "Bates was peculiarly qualified for the work here—a quiet, studious, conscientious, earnest, loving soul." Mrs. Schereschewsky wrote later: "He and Mrs. Bates always seemed peculiarly near to us. . . . When the Bates' came out in '78 . . . we soon began to cherish high hopes of the career before him. . . . He applied himself to the study of the language, and bringing a clear logical mind and a scholarly training to the task, it appeared as if excellent work as a translator and valuable help in St. John's College would more and more crown his labors."

After a little over a year of language study and a year of teaching, he broke down with tuberculosis.

The doctors said that his only chance of recovery lay in leaving China. "The saddest event in the record of the past year," wrote the Bishop in his annual report, "has been the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Bates."

Wrote Bates: "For so many years we have longed for the missionary life that to have it taken from us is a heavy cross to bear. . . . It is no light aspect of the trial to be separated from Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky. I have been in constant intercourse with the Bishop for nearly three years, and I feel as though it would be too much to hope to be so happily related to another bishop. His entire bearing has been marked by unfailing kindness, courtesy, and affection. Hence to say that I shall ever have a deep love for him is to use feeble terms to express what I sincerely feel."

After three years at Lake Saranac, Bates recovered sufficiently to take a small parish at Clifton Heights, near Philadelphia, where he died in 1899. Mrs. Bates is still living. Their daughter (Mrs. W. M. Porterfield) became a missionary in China and married a member of the faculty at St. John's, where she resided until 1933.

Mrs. Bates, who still retains her enthusiastic admiration for Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky, told me this story a few years ago: On the morning of her husband's ordination to the priesthood a Chinese servant dropped a much prized wedding gift, a silver pitcher, and put a dent in it. At that moment, when she was on the point of giving vent to an angry scold-

ing of the servant, Mrs. Schereschewsky entered. "If I were you, I wouldn't have that dent taken out of the pitcher," said Mrs. Schereschewsky. "It will always remind you of two things you'll be glad to remember—your husband's ordination and the fact that you didn't lose your temper with the servant who dropped it."

The pitcher was on the table beside Mrs. Bates as she spoke, and the dent was still there.

XVI

WUCHANG

WITH the departure of the Bates' and the Nelsons the need for new men at Shanghai became more acute than ever. Since there was little immediate prospect of getting them, Thomson again forwent his furlough, which he had planned to take in the spring of 1881, and which was three years overdue. If the Church ever awarded medals for distinguished service—quiet, unobtrusive, faithful, and utterly dependable—Elliot Thomson should have been the first to receive one.

The station at Wuchang, even more than that at Shanghai, was in need of reinforcements, and was one of the most pressing objects of the Bishop's concern. He had been in China as Bishop only nine days when he issued an appeal to the Church in behalf of this station. The work there had been too "sporadic." Indeed all our mission work, he said, had been of that character. "From time to time, sometimes at long intervals, one or two missionaries have been sent out to carry on a work which, beyond any, requires steadiness, persistence, continuity." Two new men were needed at Wuchang at once. The appeal fell on deaf ears.

He visited the station in February and March, 1879, confirming fifteen, and again in February, 1880, when he confirmed forty-three. He went once more in the late summer of 1880 to straighten out a difficulty in one of the schools. Except for the fact that it was pitifully undermanned, the mission appeared to him to be in a hopeful condition.

On his first visit it was staffed by the Rev. S. R. J. Hoyt, who had returned for a two-year term of service in the spring of 1878, and the physician Albert C. Bunn, who had been there since 1874. Dr. Bunn was compelled to go back to America in June, 1879, because of the illness of his son, and Hoyt's two years came to an end in March, 1880. Meanwhile, Sayres, who had been appointed to teach at St. John's, seeing the dire need of someone to replace Hoyt, volunteered to do so, and reached Wuchang in December, 1879. His wife died there three months later, but he stayed on. In June, 1880, Miss Josephine H. Roberts (later Mrs. Graves) arrived to take charge of the girls' school.

Considering the youth and inexperience of both Sayres and Miss Roberts, the Bishop felt it essential that an older person be there to guide and assist them. Since there was no one else to go, he decided to go himself. On November 9, 1880, leaving William Boone in charge of St. John's, he and his family started upriver to settle for some months in Wuchang. He would help Sayres and at the same time superintend the erection of a church, for which \$3,000 had re-

cently been given. Mrs. Schereschewsky would help Miss Roberts in the girls' school and look after the women's work.

On the way up their son, Joseph, then seven years old, became ill, with an acute case of pneumonia, as it proved. Travelers to Wuchang then, as now, disembarked at Hankow, on the side of the river opposite Wuchang. Sayres was there to meet the Schereschewskys and, on learning of the boy's condition, went immediately for Dr. Mawbey of the London Mission. What followed is told by Mrs. Schereschewsky in a letter to Joshua Kimber of November 23, 1880:

"The doctor came at once and pronounced Joey seriously ill, and informed us that we ought not to attempt to cross the river with him, but ought to stop at Hankow. My husband felt perplexed and said, 'Where are we to go?' . . . Mr. Sayres then went to Gen. Shepard, the American Consul, for advice, and he most kindly invited us to come with our sick child to his house. . . . The fever continued by day and night for seven days and nights. . . . You can imagine our intense anxiety. . . . On the seventh day the fever began to decrease, and on the ninth the doctor pronounced Joey out of danger. Our hearts have been filled with joy and thanksgiving for this great mercy. My dear husband looks very worn, however, with his great anxiety; his father having died suddenly of this complaint made him all the more anxious, and it seems to me that in these few days my husband has grown grayer and older. He is also very heavily bur-

dened at this time with many cares, and the conduct of Dr. Nelson and his family has weighed heavily on his mind and spirits. We go to our new home in Wuchang tomorrow. The members of our Mission here have been most kind, Miss Roberts taking charge of our little girl at Wuchang so that we could give all our strength to our dear boy. I know that you will join with us in gratitude to Almighty God in sparing this precious life to us."

The Bishop added a postscript to the letter saying that he would be indeed glad if the Board of Missions would make some official acknowledgment of the American Consul's hospitality "in our hour of very great trial and need."

Their new home in Wuchang was, said Mrs. Scherschewsky, "shaky when the wind blows, and there are plenty of cracks in the doors, so that there is first rate ventilation." This she wrote to a member of the Women's Auxiliary. But she told the secretary of the Foreign Committee that it was in such a state of dilapidation that it was no wonder that the wives of two missionaries had previously died in it. "The wonder almost is that anybody has *lived* in it." A few repairs were made in the following spring. "Housekeeping duties here," she said, "are pretty trying, as labor is unskilled. . . . In Wuchang one is cut off from many things, and only a great purpose in view could reconcile most people to live here." "It is pleasant to have the little chapel beside us, with the voice of prayer

and thanksgiving constantly rising up from it, . . . for there is morning and evening service always. . . . The children [of the schools, who attended daily] sing remarkably well. . . . After the morning mission service at 7:30 we have Morning Prayer in English in our parlour, which we all greatly enjoy."

Said Miss Roberts of Mrs. Schereschewsky, "A blessing to the station I consider her, with her good judgment and kind thoughtfulness."

A few months in Wuchang made it clear to the Bishop that the mission work there was not in as healthy a condition as Hoyt's confirmation classes and the exuberant reports of Sayres had led him to believe. Sayres was an indefatigable worker, a man of zeal and devotion, but inexperienced and immature. Of his predecessors at Wuchang the Bishop felt that Boone, Yen, and Bunn were the only ones who had really been fitted for the work. Hoyt had presented people for confirmation without either the instruction or the character needed to make them faithful, let alone worthy, members of the Church. With one or two exceptions they had already evaporated. It had been a mistake, said the Bishop, to let Hoyt come back. "I have no choice but to tell you very plainly that the work that has been done here will not stand—it is rotten"; and for the most part "must be begun *de novo*."

It was this experience which led him to make a rule that there should be a year's probation of all candi-

dates for baptism, six months before their public admission as catechumens and six months thereafter, during all of which time they should be under instruction and observation.

Despite his discouragement at conditions in Wuchang, he said there was never "so great an opening in every direction for mission work in this country as now, . . . but the painful fact is that we have neither men nor means to avail ourselves of this great opportunity." "I do most earnestly urge upon the Committee that still more strenuous exertions be made to procure men as speedily as possible. I have long been of the opinion that the course pursued by other societies is a wise one, *i.e.*, to visit the colleges and seminaries, find out who are the very best young men, and entreat them earnestly to consider the needs of the foreign field. I would respectfully suggest that the plan hitherto pursued by the Committee, of waiting for men to apply, should yield to the more successful one, as it seems to me, of applying for the men personally. Other Christian bodies laboring in this country are pouring men into the field. . . . Why are we so behindhand? . . .

"It is possible that my holding the office of bishop keeps back men from the field. If so, I should not hesitate for a moment to resign. . . . I desire above all the prosperity of the work here, and if my being bishop is in any way a hindrance to it I would most cheerfully withdraw. . . . I still deem it a mistake on the part of

the Church to have appointed me to this office and on my part to have finally accepted it."

The illness of Bates and the death of Mrs. Sayres convinced him of the necessity of a rigid medical examination of all recruits before appointment. No one without a robust constitution, he urged upon the Foreign Committee, should be considered for China. Nor anyone deficient in culture and ability: "I cannot say too much about the importance of having well educated people to labor in this field. . . . It makes the greatest possible difference in every way both in respect to their usefulness, their ability to acquire the language, and the impression that they make upon the native mind. It may be laid down as an axiom that men and women of ability will do good work. Of course the piety and devotion I take for granted. You may multiply indifferent workers to any extent and the result will be the same—poverty, barrenness, and failure. With God's blessing able men and women will produce a great impression here, but from feeble instrumentalities we can only look for feeble results. Hard as it is to suffer from the lack of laborers, better none at all than those who are incompetent."

"The essential requisites are sound health" and "a decided record of mental ability in the course of studies already pursued."

One of his oft-expressed hopes was that single women, preferably deaconesses or sisters, could be induced to come to China to live together in small groups and work among women. "I should regard a

sisterhood," he said, "as one of the most valuable additions to the work that can possibly be made." But the realization of this, as of other of his hopes, had to wait for a subsequent episcopate.

He was heartened by the arrival in Wuchang of a physician, Dr. William A. Deas, in March, 1881, and the gift of \$3,000 from the Women's Auxiliary for a Woman's Hospital there; likewise by the news that the Board had succeeded in securing four recruits who would come out at the end of the summer—two women teachers and two men, one to teach at St. John's, the other, a recent seminary graduate, to work at Wuchang. The latter was Frederick R. Graves, the present Bishop of Shanghai.¹

But even these four could no more than help inadequately to carry on work already begun. No advance movement could be expected. And had the Bishop foreseen that but one of them—Graves—had the devotion and ability which the work demanded, he might have been more disheartened than he was.

He went on with translation at Wuchang, but found himself much hindered by the necessity of supervising the erection of the new church. In default of an architect he had to draw the plans himself, and, after the contract was given, superintend in person the construction, for the workmen had not the least idea of how to put up a foreign building. To the difficulties which might normally be expected from such

¹ He has this year (1937) resigned his jurisdiction.

activities, was added the disposition of the contractor to cheat and delay.

In his annual report of July, 1881, the Bishop wrote: "A considerable portion of my time has been taken up with superintending building operations, and these have been a source of constant interruption, attended with much annoyance and vexation. Although I am no architect I have been called upon to be architect-in-chief of the Mission, and, apart from the fret and worry, I have greatly regretted the attendant loss of time, which I cannot but feel might have been employed not only in more congenial work but also in that for which I am better fitted."

When he was informed that a wealthy American was thinking of giving \$6,000 for a hospital at St. John's, he asked the Foreign Committee to try to get him to make it \$7,000, saying, "I have had to contend so much with want of adequate funds for building purposes that I should be most grateful to have enough to do the thing well and without undue worry."

Building worries, worries over mission finances, worry over conditions at Wuchang, and above all over the feeble support, in men and money, which the Church at home had given him, were leading him more and more to feel that he ought to relinquish the episcopate. As William Boone said, the Bishop "lets things worry him far more than is good for either his work or his health." And his health, as we have seen, quite apart from worry, had not been good in Central China.

On June 8, 1881, he wrote to Joshua Kimber that he was looking forward to the day when the Church would permit him to resign and resume his work as translator. A month later he said that he seriously contemplated resigning, but asked the opinion of the Foreign Committee before he took a decisive step:

"From the very beginning I was convinced that I had not the especial gifts and qualifications needed for this responsible office. I regard my episcopate thus far as a failure, and I see no reason to hope that I shall be more successful in the future. I would urge upon the Church—as one who has the interests of this work at heart—that she appoint another bishop to this field, . . . one who should infuse new life in the Mission and new zeal on its behalf in the Church, one who should be able to procure the very best men for the work and the means of carrying it on vigorously. . . . Such a bishop I certainly am not. . . . I have been of some use in one particular line of work; in that I may be of some use yet. . . . I earnestly hope that the Committee and the Board will take what I have said into serious consideration. Surely there must be a man in the Church who possesses the necessary gifts for the office of a missionary bishop in this field."

The reply of the Foreign Committee was drafted by John Cotton Smith and Joshua Kimber:

"The Committee . . . admit the great value of your service as a translator; nor do they doubt that you would render great service to the Church should you devote yourself exclusively to such labors; but there

are considerations, which are paramount, which lead them to the conclusion that the resignation of your office under present circumstances would be a great calamity to the Church.

"The Committee have every reason to believe that the Church at large agrees with them in the very high estimate which it places upon the wisdom and success of your administration of your office in China. While there may be others, as you intimate, who may be eminently adapted to the work, . . . we fail as yet to have any indications of Providence as to where they are to be found. . . .

"The Committee feel very sure that a large part of the money contributed for the institutions in China—particularly for St. John's—could not have been secured had it not been understood that they were to be under your supervision. . . .

"Your voluntary retirement from the episcopate could not but have a most discouraging effect upon the minds of the friends of missions in China. The Committee earnestly hope, therefore, that you will accept their assurances of confidence and their unhesitating judgment as to what is expedient in this matter."

XVII

BURIED ALIVE

ON JUNE 8, 1881, Mrs. Schereschewsky wrote from Wuchang: "The heat is upon us—84° quite early this morning. We expect . . . to be here this summer. I am trying to be cheerful and hope all will go well with us." On July 29th the Bishop said that the thermometer for some time had been registering from 82° or 84° to 90°, day and night. "This for a day or two would not be very high, but it is the continuous strain that tells." On August 9th Mrs. Schereschewsky wrote: "My husband was quite overcome by the heat yesterday, which was very great. I have never seen him so prostrated. . . . I trust that we may pull through without any serious illness. . . . My dear Mr. Boone, you can hardly imagine how depressed my husband is about this station. When he discovered the real state of affairs it was a great shock to him, and he has not rallied from it yet. He is so thin and worn, poor dear, that my heart bleeds for him."

Sayres later told Boone that for two months previous to this time the Bishop "had not been fully himself as to irritability and unresting slumbers at irregular times."

On August 12th the Bishop wrote to Joshua Kim-

ber saying that from his experience this summer he was more than ever convinced of the necessity of securing a vacation house or sanitarium for the Wuchang workers in the mountains behind Kiukiang. He ended with these words: "It is intensely hot both day and night here. I think I have never felt the heat to be so great in any place that I have been in China."

The Bishop's son recalls that a thermometer hung on the back porch of their house in Wuchang. Radiation from the tin roof of the porch, however, doubtless increased the heat. At one time during the summer the mercury in that thermometer went through the top. The thermometer registered only 140 degrees!

On the day the Bishop wrote that he had never experienced such heat in China—August 12th—he told his wife that he had a fever.

"As my brother and I came down from our afternoon nap," says Miss Caroline Schereschewsky, "my mother met us and told us to be very quiet as our father's head ached and he was feverish. . . . Something in our mother's manner made us anxious. We had a pet goat tethered out in the meadow, and when we fetched it home at twilight we dropped on the grass and prayed that our father might soon be well."

Her brother remembers coming into the house at about five o'clock in the afternoon of the next day and finding his father on a mattress on the floor in the dining room, and their neighbor, Dr. Deas, applying cold, wet towels to him. His temperature was 108° or 109°.

On August 16, 1881, William Boone at Shanghai wrote to the secretary of the Foreign Committee:

MY DEAR MR. KIMBER,

A line just in from Hankow reports the Bishop as having a high fever and just in a spasm when the note was sent off at 6 P.M. (13th) to get through the city gates [of Wuchang]. I pray God that He will mercifully give relief and bring to health and years of further usefulness one who is so remarkably furnished to do a special work in this land. The Bishop has overtaxed himself and was not in good case to stand a severe fever, but yet his constitution is an iron one and has stood so much that we must hope for the best.

Yours anxiously and in great haste,

WM. J. BOONE.

The note "sent off at 6 p.m." on the 13th was from Miss Roberts. The next morning at 4:25 a.m. Dr. Deas sent off another, saying that the Bishop had been "seized with most alarming symptoms," and although there had been "some slight change for the better" he was "by no means out of danger." On receipt of this Boone took the first boat to Hankow.

What had happened is best told in the words of Mrs. Schereschewsky, written four weeks later:

"My husband had been complaining, more or less, since the extreme heat of the summer commenced, of exhaustion. . . . He still went to his study, however—an extremely hot little room in the small and now dilapidated bungalow built some years ago by Mr. Boone. I begged my husband to go down to Shanghai or to Chefoo, as I had noticed that he was growing thinner and more worn constantly. But he said that his

translation work and the work on the church would detain him until the end of August. . . . As the heat increased my husband seemed more and more exhausted day by day. . . .

"On August 12th [Friday] he complained of fever, and at 1 p.m. Saturday [August 13th] I asked Dr. Deas to see him, and the doctor prescribed for him. I then had my husband placed under a punkah (a kind of large fan-like arrangement suspended from the ceiling and pulled by ropes), in hopes that he might fall asleep and that the medicine already given might induce perspiration and relieve the fever. I was in the next room and trusted that he was sleeping peacefully when I heard a very strange sound, and rushing in found my husband in a spasm. I sent immediately for Dr. Deas. . . . He considered the case so pressing that he immediately sent for Dr. Mawbey (London Mission), and as it was now getting dark, Mr. Bryson, our near neighbor (also London Mission) went down to the city gates and had them kept open until Dr. Mawbey arrived.¹ He came about 10 p.m., my husband still continuing in an unconscious state.

"After a consultation I was told that my husband might not live 24 hours or that he might live a few days, but that there was very little hope of his recovery. . . . Then began a time of such terrible anxiety

¹ Wuchang was at the time and remained until 1929 a walled city whose gates were closed at sunset and opened at dawn. Only by special permission of the authorities could anyone pass between these hours.

as I have no heart to put into words. There were only Dr. Deas, Miss Roberts, and myself to watch by day and night, and there was no clergyman (Mr. Sayres being absent with his sick child) either to administer Holy Communion or, in case of my husband's death, to bury him.

"Early Sunday morning [August 14th] Dr. Mawbey returned to Hankow, a change for the better taking place, . . . and very slowly my husband returned to consciousness. . . . On the tenth day after he was taken ill Dr. Mawbey again came over, and after a consultation with Dr. Deas they decided that my husband must at once be removed to Shanghai. This was Monday [August 22nd]. We had 24 hours to pack and remove all our furniture over the river to the steamer, and to be in readiness to take a journey of six hundred miles.

"A little after 4 a.m., Tuesday morning, my husband was placed in a sedan chair and, accompanied by Dr. Deas, was carried over to the U. S. Consulate, where I was to join him with Miss Roberts and the children in the evening, to take the steamer which was to leave about ten o'clock p.m. I can never forget that morning. The dead, intense heat, the air so thick with insects that we could scarcely breathe it with impunity, the very early dawn, just beginning to break, the sedan chairs slowly moving off with the attendant lanterns, and the great anxiety I could not but feel as to how the journey might affect my husband, have all stamped themselves upon my memory.

"The day that followed was indeed . . . a day breathless with haste and anxiety. Miss Roberts and self were already worn with watching, and to me it was very hard work to make my will act enough to carry on the transactions of the day. The dusk was closing in when at last we passed through the city gates. . . . Before noon of the same day a letter from Mr. Boone told me of his arrival at the Consulate and that he was with my husband, and this was such a comfort to me. . . ."

Boone had found the Bishop at the Consulate, "on a sofa cushion on the floor, looking very weak and thin and bathed in perspiration."

"Dr. Mawbey," wrote Boone, "soon came, and he told me the base of the brain was affected. For thirty-six hours the Bishop was unable to articulate, and by degrees he has got to say words, not very distinctly, by which we catch his thought. I, knowing his lines of thought, was able to spare him considerable effort by saying what he aimed to say, when he would approve; if not, I would try again with another word as a clue. His memory is perfect, apparently. Dr. Mawbey had a very decided and hopeless opinion that our Bishop would never get well."

To continue Mrs. Schereschewsky's account:

"About ten p.m. we found ourselves on the steamer. We left Tuesday night, August 23rd, and arrived here [St. John's, Shanghai] on Friday. The journey, owing to the intense heat, was very fatiguing and my husband grew weaker. . . ."

"On Saturday, the next day after our arrival, a consultation of physicians was held and I was told, as the result, that little hope could be given of my husband's recovery. But since then, day by day, he has seemed to improve a very little. . . . At one time he lost almost entirely the use of his limbs. He can now move his hands a little, and his legs very slightly. From the first his speech has been very much affected. . . . This has been a very heavy cross to him and to all of us, anxious as we are to do everything for him and yet, at times, despairing of finding out the wish it is such intense exertion for him to express." "The sentence, 'I must live to revise my translation of the Old Testament,' is often on his lips."

There is a tradition, still current in China, that Boone, either at the Consulate in Hankow or on the way down the river (for the tale exists in at least two versions), knelt beside the Bishop and began to read prayers for the dying. The Bishop roused himself and managed to say, "Stop that, Boone, I'm not dead yet."

Dr. Deas, who accompanied the Schereschewskys to Shanghai, described the Bishop's condition five days after reaching there: "He articulates with much effort, . . . his pronunciation is so indistinct that he is understood with difficulty. He cannot raise himself in bed nor turn from side to side. . . . His mind is clear . . . and his appetite and digestion continue good."

His helpless condition was an ordeal. A fortnight after he reached Shanghai he told William Boone that "he felt as if he were buried already."

Apparently the doctors thought so too.

Dr. Deas, on August 31st, said, "The case is as grave as it could well be."

On October 11th Dr. Henry W. Boone wrote: "I find the Bishop propped up in a chair. He can drag his legs up and down on a stool, but cannot raise them or stand on them; can lift his hands and arms, but cannot use them for any purpose. He cannot read a book, although he likes to be read to. He speaks with difficulty, in a loud unnatural voice. . . . His mind is not strong, though clear. It shares in the general debility."

Dr. Boone, Dr. Deas, Dr. Pichon, Health Officer of the French Municipal Council in Shanghai, and Dr. Jamieson, consulting surgeon to the Imperial Maritime Customs, all agreed that the Bishop "has a serious lesion at the base of the brain," and "will never be able to do much work again."

On November 29th Dr. Boone reported that the Bishop "gains very very slowly," "has slightly greater power over his limbs, speaks a little better, and his mind is clear. There is no indication that he will recover full power of mind or body, or be capable of any *sustained* mental effort."

XVIII

DIAGNOSIS

THE MORNING after the Bishop had been stricken Dr. Deas wrote that his disorder was "fever, malarial in its origin, I believe, and aggravated more or less by exposure in the sun during this very hot weather." The doctors in Shanghai thought he was suffering from a hemorrhage in the lower part of the brain.

Dr. Joseph W. Schereschewsky tells me that there is now no doubt that his father had thermic fever or insolation; in other words that he suffered from the results of a severe sunstroke, and that if he had been at once covered with wet sheets and laid under a punkah he might have recovered.

It appears that nerve cells have a lower tolerance of heat than other cells, and if exposure to an exceptionally high temperature is maintained for a sufficient time, there is permanent damage to certain cells in the brain and nervous system, resulting in total or partial paralysis or incoördination, disturbed articulation, convulsive twitching, and enormously rapid pulse. These were the Bishop's symptoms. Exactly the same symptoms, resulting from sunstroke, were reported during the Great War by British army physicians in

Mesopotamia and Egypt. Cases were treated more or less successfully by the most rapid known method of abstracting heat, namely wrapping all parts of the body in a few layers of gauze, wetting the gauze, and turning on electric fans.

But this treatment was, presumably, unknown to Dr. Deas or any other doctor in 1881, even had it been obvious that the Bishop's fever was primarily the result of sunstroke rather than malaria.

The doctors at Shanghai urged removal to America or Europe for consultation with brain specialists. This the Bishop stoutly resisted for some months, partly because he shrank from becoming a spectacle of helplessness to fellow voyagers, partly because he rightly feared that the expense of his care would be much greater away from China, where, for very little outlay, he had two manservants to look after him, and chiefly because he hoped to recover in China and not have to desert the work.

His improvement, slow and minute as it was, seems to have surprised the doctors. By the middle of November he had begun "to take a few steps, being upheld on either side," and "to feed himself somewhat, that is, convey bread and lift a few spoonfuls of soup to his mouth—but even that involves a good deal of effort." He was daily lifted into a carriage and taken for a drive, and he could listen to reading for hours together. He was, said his wife, "most deeply interested in every word relating to our beloved President" [Garfield, who had recently been assassinated].

"He is so thoroughly patriotic that anything touching the Republic arouses his keenest interest." "His interest in politics also continues and his memory both historical and otherwise is wonderful."

"This long continued illness," said William Boone, "has had a marked effect upon him. He says he sees God's hand controlling his impatience."

It was in November that the reply of the Foreign Committee (given on pages 166-7) to his request for their opinion on his contemplated resignation reached him. When it was read to him, said Mrs. Schereschewsky, "He was very deeply affected, even to tears, by the testimony thus rendered of the affection and confidence of the Church. . . . Coming, as it did, to my husband and myself at a time of great trial and weakness, it soothed and comforted us. . . . I am sure that my husband, when he heard this message, thanked God and took courage."

On Christmas Eve there was a lighted tree, and a Santa Claus, and presents for all the missionary children—fifteen of them—at the Bishop's house, and the Bishop sat among them in his easy chair.

By that time he had become reconciled to leaving China, and, as his physicians advised his consulting Dr. Charcot of Paris, the foremost nerve specialist in the world, he decided to sail on a French mail packet for Marseilles.

On March 8, 1882, he and his family embarked. "It was painful to see how helpless he was," wrote an onlooker, "as he was carried aboard in his chair, per-

fectly conscious and alive to all that was taking place, but scarcely able to articulate intelligibly."

"We could far better spare any two other men from China—not to limit ourselves to our own weak mission," said William Boone. "He is nowhere so valued as by us who know what he has done and could do if God so willed it."

The hopefulness, courage, and cheer of Mrs. Scherschewsky during the months in Shanghai had been a marvel to all who knew her. Half a year after her husband had been stricken she wrote to a friend at home: "My heart is yet sore with grief and anxiety which I do not express to anyone about me." Later she admitted that she had had to "struggle along against rather heavy odds," but quoted the text, "As thy days, so shall thy strength be"; adding, "My God in whom I trust has been most merciful to me and has constantly renewed my strength. The constant reflection that the prayers of the Church are ever ascending for the restoration of my husband is an unspeakable help and comfort to me."

With the uncanny foresight of faith she said, "This our heavy trial, . . . I doubt not, is full of wise purpose which will in the future be clearly seen."

XIX

STRIKING AMELIORATION

THE GREAT Charcot in Paris, where the Schereschewskys arrived on April 16, 1882, advised hydrotherapy, and sent them to a water cure institution known as the House Hydrotherapie or the Hotel de Passy, at 22 rue Franklin, Passy, directed by a Dr. Pascal. Dr. Charcot suggested that they try it for a month, which they did, the whole family securing quarters at the "Hotel."

The total cost for their keep and the Bishop's treatment was \$500 a month. Since the Bishop's salary was \$3,000 a year and neither he nor his wife had any private income (indeed they had been contributing \$100 yearly toward the support of Mrs. Schereschewsky's now eighty-two-year-old father), there is no wonder that they were worried by the expense. They felt unable to keep a servant, so the entire care of the Bishop, not to mention the children, fell on Mrs. Schereschewsky, already well nigh exhausted by the fatigue and anxiety of the journey. "Our month in Paris," she wrote a few days after the end of it, "was most trying. It was not only very expensive, but we received a miserable equivalent for the money paid out. It is not worth while to tell you of my own con-

stant struggles to keep up. . . . I trust we may be spared any similar experience in the future."

Dr. Charcot, however, was convinced that the water cure was the thing; so, with his approval, the Bishop decided to go to a hydropathic establishment in Geneva, known as Champel les Bains, where he hoped to live for half the Paris costs.

Dr. Paul Glatz, the physician in charge here, described the Bishop's condition as "complete paralysis of the four limbs" or "poliomyelitis anterior subacuta." Wrote Mrs. Schereschewsky: "Before we left Paris my husband had fire applied twice to his spine, as Dr. Charcot thought that the seat of his disease was there. Dr. Glatz, on the contrary, does not consider the disease to proceed from the spine, but thinks that his trouble came from congestion of the base of the brain and was caused by exposure to intense heat."

Dr. Glatz put the Bishop under a rigorous course of massage, hydrotherapy, and electrotherapy, including, as he said, cold douches, galvano-faradization of the muscles, general faradization, and galvanization of the spinal cord and the sympathetic nervous system.

"The treatment," wrote Mrs. Schereschewsky, three weeks after arrival in Geneva, "seems to meet his case. . . . His muscular strength has greatly increased." Two weeks later she wrote with pathetic cheerfulness: "He has just now walked around the little balcony clinging to the railing with both hands

after the fashion of children when they are learning to walk." And three weeks after that: "My husband gains, but—Oh! so slowly! . . . He is wonderfully patient and serene, but it is heart-searching discipline for us both. At times I suffer from exhaustion but soon rally." She asked that "A Thanksgiving for the Beginning of a Recovery" be used in the churches at home on the anniversary of the Bishop's illness, August 13th, which fell on a Sunday.

In the middle of September, James M. Brown, treasurer of the Board of Missions, who was traveling in Europe, called on the Bishop. "I found him," he said, "looking remarkably well in the face, his limbs but very little use, his mind perfectly clear, but his articulation very poor and difficult to understand."

After almost fourteen months' treatment Dr. Glatz gave a written opinion, concurred in by Prof. F. Wilhelm Zahn, of the medical faculty of the University of Geneva, that the Bishop had shown marked improvement or, in the somewhat quaint English of the doctor, was "now in a state of very striking amelioration," and that he felt that in another year or eighteen months he could "hope for a still more striking amelioration." He went on to describe the Bishop's condition. His report was sent to the Foreign Committee who in turn sent it to Dr. Boone at Shanghai. His comment was: "He was quite as well when he left China as they represent him to be now." The opinion about probable future improvement

"sounds in plain English like, 'He may improve a little but he will never get well.' This I fear is about the true state of the case."

Unfortunately Dr. Boone was right. The Bishop did continue to improve a little, but only a little. In May, 1884, two years after coming to Geneva, he could "take a few small unsteady steps alone," but had "to be guarded most carefully for fear of a fall." He never was able to take more than a few small, unsteady steps. Nor was it safe to let him take them alone. Someone had to walk behind him with hands on his shoulders, or two persons support him, one on each side. He could stand alone only when leaning against a wall. For the rest of his life he had to be carried up and down stairs, and lifted into bed or chair or conveyance. He could move his arms and fumblingly pick up objects, if they were not too small, though only after several attempts in each case. He could sign his name if his wife held and guided his hand. If his food was cut up for him, he was able to eat with a spoon, using a piece of bread for a pusher (he always had one meal a day, dinner, with his family).

His speech remained so blurred that it was difficult for those who were not used to him to understand. He had little control of his voice; it would leap up and down, now a queer falsetto and now a deep, natural tone. Indeed, every muscle of his body was affected with incoördination. Moreover, the muscles of his calves and arms shrank and hollows came

between his fingers. But his vital organs remained long in health. His appetite and digestion were good. One early result of this suddenly inactive life upon a body previously lithe and spare was the putting on of weight. He went up from a hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds; but by cutting down his food he reduced to about a hundred and sixty-five.

His mental powers, the full recovery of which the physicians at Shanghai had at first doubted, came back unimpaired. Indeed, he had never lost them, except to the extent that any seriously ill person is mentally under par. "I remember my father," writes his daughter, "even in the years following his [sun] stroke, as a man of immense energy, with brilliant eyes and a good color. . . . Much of his suffering . . . in later life came from the disharmony resulting from his comparatively helpless physical condition and his nervous energy and intense mental activity, which were never impaired."

The slight, though seemingly steady, improvement which he experienced at Geneva led him to stay there for a little more than four years. The Board of Missions had largely relieved him of financial worries by paying in full his Paris expenses and thereafter paying his medical expenses in addition to his salary. Considering the means at the disposal of the Board, this was generosity itself. It enabled him to put his children in good schools and to engage a pleasant, stalwart young German Swiss, Edward Moreng, as a manservant—which was indeed an absolute

necessity. But it did not relieve Mrs. Schereschewsky from the need of practicing the utmost frugality.

She herself undertook "the nursing by day and by night—the latter at times very onerous"—in order to save thirty dollars a month on a night nurse; and for their first five months in Geneva they stayed at a simple family hotel (the Beau Séjour) near the hydro-pathic institute, in two small rooms on the third floor. The Bishop had to be carried up and down, strapped in an improvised sedan chair, by his servant and the hotel porter. Then, in order to reduce expenses they began housekeeping at 14 Chemin des Contamines, and in April, 1883, took a house in the country at Lancy (135 Grand Lancy) about two miles away. They supposed the cost of living here would be less, but in this they were disappointed. Hence, at the end of March, 1884, they moved back to the city, to a small but convenient first floor apartment at 5 Square Töpffer, where they remained for over two years. Their single holiday came in the summer of 1885, when they got away for a month to Territet, near Chillon, at the other end of the lake.

Mrs. Schereschewsky bore her straitened circumstances cheerfully, saying that if there was "necessity for rigid economy," that was "the case with the families of most of the clergy."

The Bishop, naturally eager and impatient, showed remarkable equanimity under his long protracted treatment. He "accepts everything," said his wife, "with his usual lovely patience and tranquillity,

which is a perpetual support and comfort to me. This has been our Heavenly Father's special gift to him; and had it been otherwise I hardly know how we could have met and sustained the many trials that have arisen from his illness."

"His chief recreation," says his daughter, "was to be read aloud to. My mother was an admirable reader and some of the happiest memories of my childhood are connected with long hours of listening to my mother's reading of some masterpiece of history or volume of English literature." "How often have I fallen asleep to the sound of her voice reading aloud to him in the next room; how often have I wakened in the middle of the night to hear her voice . . . helping to while away the hours."

Until the spring of 1885 the Bishop's only method of getting about was to be wheeled in an invalid's chair or occasionally lifted into a carriage for a drive. In May of that year he saw an advertisement in an English paper of the "Coventry Chair," "a tricycle peculiarly adapted for the use of invalids." There was a small wheel in front and two large wheels behind, and, in back of the invalid's seat, a seat for a cyclist who could propel the chair by pedalling. It was not unlike the wheel chairs now used on the boardwalk at Atlantic City and similar resorts. Through the liberality of the Board of Missions, who supplied \$120 of the \$150 needed, he secured one. In the advertisement the chair was said to have gone the thirty-five miles from Coventry to Birmingham in

four hours and ten minutes. With the Bishop's sturdy Swiss in the saddle, he bettered that record, and sent word to Joshua Kimber, with evident delight, that he had traveled forty miles in four hours. Kimber replied in amazement: "That beats horses, except on race tracks."

Being the first of its kind in Geneva, the chair became the subject of universal comment and curiosity, as well as adding hugely to the Bishop's convenience and enjoyment. He was as pleased with it as his son would have been with a new toy.

XX

A COMPREHENSIVE CHURCH

FOR A year and a half after his seizure the Bishop sent no letters in his own name, his wife carrying on all the correspondence for them both. Early in 1883 he began once more writing them, or rather dictating them to her, and signing them with a shaky hand which she guided. From this time on it is obvious from his correspondence that the vigor and clarity of his mind, if it had been at all affected by his illness, was wholly restored.

Although a great deal of his attention was given to his cure, and much of his time taken up by rubbings and poundings and douchings and galvanizations, he never for a moment lost his concern for the China Mission. As Mrs. Schereschewsky wrote, in the summer of 1882, "our thoughts, our prayers are ever with the work of the Church in China."

Before leaving Shanghai he had named Thomson, Yen, Sayres, and the two Boones as the Standing Committee. This, incidentally, was the first time a Chinese (Yen) and a layman (Dr. Boone) were given places on it. He was eager to hear of their doings and of the progress of the work in general.

Early in January, 1883, he was much exercised

over two pieces of news. One was that although contributions for missions had so increased that the Board was now able to send new missionaries to China, there were no volunteers from among clergy or seminarians; the other was that Dr. Nelson, in addresses in Philadelphia and at the annual council or convention of the Diocese of Virginia, had said that the Church in China was "fast tending to extreme ritualism."

The Bishop felt that Dr. Nelson's statement, which had found its way into print, was in part responsible for the dearth of volunteers, while another cause was the growing opinion that one religion was as good as another, and that Buddhism especially was of such excellence that it was a pity to supplant it by Christianity.

Hence, on January 31, 1883, he dictated an appeal in behalf of the China Mission, which he sent to all the Church papers and all the seminaries, not only urging the need of men, but briefly bringing forward some considerations calculated to counteract Dr. Nelson's imputations as well as the prevalent sentimental admiration for Buddhism. He had, he said, thoroughly studied the Buddhist books. He had also visited and lived in Buddhist temples and talked with hundreds of Buddhist monks. Although there was much that was noble in Buddhist literature, Buddhism as practiced in China was a totally different thing. It was nothing short of a gigantic system of superstition, idolatry, and fraud. Indeed, whatever

good was found among the Chinese was to be attributed to Confucianism, not Buddhism.

As for the Mission becoming ritualistic, he simply said that the Church knew that he was no partisan. His object was to have the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not of any party, preached. All that he asked in the matter of Churchmanship was conformity to the Prayer Book.

At the same time he requested the Foreign Committee, who had asked Dr. Nelson for a specific statement of facts substantiating his public remarks, to send him a copy of them. They did so reluctantly, not wishing to trouble him in his present condition, but he was quite up to a long and spirited reply.

It is difficult today to appreciate the state of mind which led Dr. Nelson and the Churchmen of Virginia and Philadelphia to look with alarm at what he brought forward as evidences of advanced ritualism: William Boone, he said, wore colored stoles, turned and bowed toward the altar during the creed, and thought it not improper to pray for the departed. Sayres, for a time, had celebrated the Holy Communion daily at Wuchang, and at the opening of the new church there he and Graves had used candles and banners. Graves was said to have said to someone else who repeated the remark to Dr. Nelson, that he (Graves) was "a ritualist." Finally, white linen eucharistic vestments were used in the chapel of St. John's College. All this led Dr. Nelson to conclude that the status of the China Mission had "decidedly

changed from that which prevailed under its first two bishops, generally known as evangelical, to that now commonly called ritualistic."

"I consider Dr. Nelson's allegations as containing a covert attack upon myself," wrote Bishop Schereschewsky. "As to ritualism properly so called I have never been in sympathy with it. . . . But I have always deprecated the fact that foreign missions should be in the hands of one particular party in the Church; and when I was in America . . . I advocated that foreign missions ought to be upheld by all parties in the Church, and if now there is any change to that effect, I may perhaps be regarded as having contributed a little toward it."

As to the particular items in Dr. Nelson's charges, the Bishop said that whether or not Boone held it proper to pray for the departed he had never taught it in the Mission; that turning to the east and bowing at the name of our Lord in the creed was a practice in English Churches, high and low; and that colored stoles were "simply a matter of taste." "I have always myself preferred and worn a black stole, but I deem the raising of any question as to such an immaterial point, trifling and irrelevant."

As for Sayres celebrating the Holy Communion daily, he did so for a few months after the death of his wife, and the Bishop had then spoken to Dr. Nelson of it, saying that "owing to Sayres' frame of mind . . . it might be of special benefit to him, and Dr. Nelson took no exception." In the opening services of the new

church in Wuchang, "I dare say that the young men, Mr. Graves and Mr. Sayres, being left to their own devices, owing to my illness, indulged in sundry flourishes. . . . But what is done once and on an extraordinary occasion cannot be regarded as the standard of the services in the Mission." "I agree with Mr. Boone in thinking that the office of the Holy Communion should be emphasized; and there is nothing objectionable to my mind in wearing an alb and chasuble of white linen. I have always preferred to wear a surplice myself." A little later he said if anyone were really disturbed by the use of alb and chasuble he would ask that it be discontinued.

At St. John's College, he said, "There is an altar covered with a decent and suitable altar cloth, also a plain cross on a ledge upon the altar, and a pair of vases presented by my wife for containing flowers placed upon the same ledge, and a credence table at the side of the altar. This is all there is in the chancel. These simple arrangements seem to have given rise to exaggerated reports. . . . The service . . . was always simple enough. . . . Indeed, had a choral service been wished for, there was no one in the Mission who knew music enough to train a choir."

As for Boone and Sayres, "Dr. Nelson was contemporaneous with the first for a period of more than ten years and with the latter for two years, . . . and yet he brought no such charges against these gentlemen during that whole time." Both men, said the Bishop, were earnest, devoted, faithful missionaries,

although Sayres was deficient in judgment and needed to be associated with someone of experience and sense. As for Graves, he reached China after Dr. Nelson left. "He arrived in Shanghai when I was very ill, so that I only saw him once or twice, on which occasions he made a very favorable impression upon me. . . . As far as reported to me I can testify to his fitness for laboring as a missionary in China in one very important particular. . . . He has made remarkable progress in the acquisition of the Chinese language." (A few months later he said he regarded Graves "as a young man of great promise. . . . He seems especially fitted for a missionary career.")

"It may be that Dr. Nelson and those who are in sympathy with him consider every man who is not a Zwinglian in his views regarding the Lord's Supper, a Calvinist in theology, and who opposes slovenliness and irreverence in the conducting of the Divine Service . . . a ritualist." "I have always thought that one of the glories of our Church is that she is broad and comprehensive enough to embrace within her fold men holding various views in theology and different shades of opinion in matters pertaining to ritual. . . . To identify the Church with the views of any one party would be, in my humble opinion, making a sect of her."

The Foreign Committee, after considering the Bishop's reply, together with replies from the missionaries in China, came to the conclusion that Dr. Nelson's allegations had not been sustained.

XXI

DISTURBED BEYOND MEASURE

HARDLY had the Bishop received news of the findings of the Foreign Committee on Dr. Nelson's charges, when he began to hear of dissensions among the missionaries themselves. Sayres had suffered from a touch of the sun and an almost complete breakdown the same summer the Bishop was stricken. He had recovered, and in the following spring was transferred to St. John's. Here he found it difficult to get along with the Boones. Although he himself was a member of the Standing Committee, he challenged the legality of its acts because the Bishop had put Dr. Boone on it before the Canons provided for laymen on missionary standing committees. There was much to be said for the technical correctness of his contention here, but so strange was his reported conduct in other respects that the Bishop wondered whether his illness at Wuchang had not affected his mind. Further, two women workers, who had arrived after the Bishop's departure, became centers of disaffection, voicing dissatisfaction with their work and with their social relationships in the Mission. Finally, a young clergyman, who had come in April, 1883, after just three and a half months in the field, leapt

into print in *The Southern Churchman* with an unfavorable critique of the Mission.

The Bishop wrote him that his communication did not "betray either too much judgment or too much modesty." "If you had anything to complain of you should have written either to myself or to the Foreign Committee. You were very wrong in writing your complaints for publication. . . . Remember that what you find is the result of fifty years of familiar acquaintance with the Chinese and their language. How then can the judgment of one who has yet acquired neither be anything but raw, crude, and inadequate? . . . What a pity . . . you had not permitted yourself to be guided by the laws of good taste and common sense."

The tempests in the Jessfield teapot made it clear that what the Mission needed was a bishop on the ground.

Even before he left China the Bishop told William Boone that he feared he was an encumbrance to the Mission in his crippled state and ought to resign, but Boone persuaded him to wait at least till the next General Convention, which was to meet in the fall of 1883, in the hope that he would recover his health by that time. It was, as we recall, in the summer of 1883 that the Swiss doctors expressed their hopes of "a still more striking amelioration" in the near future. The Bishop then decided that he would retain the episcopate a year longer. But in September, 1883, he received such accounts of the dissensions in the

Mission that on the 30th of that month he sent his resignation to the House of Bishops.

On October 18th he wrote to Bishop Horatio Potter: "I had not intended to resign up to the 29th of September, hoping that another year would see me sufficiently restored to health to be able to return to China. But recent news from the field . . . convinced me that the immediate presence of a bishop there was needed. For me to return at once was out of the question, and the only thing that I could do was to send in my resignation. . . ."

"I hope that it will be understood that I have resigned only from the episcopate and have not severed my connection with the Foreign Committee as a missionary. I propose to return—God willing—as soon as I am sufficiently restored to do so, and continue my work of translation.

"I am most anxious that my successor should not be an extreme man and also that he should be a scholarly man. An extreme man on either side or one lacking in scholarship would, I believe, do harm and undo what has already been accomplished at the cost of great anxiety and labor. You, my dear Bishop, will, I am sure, understand how great has been the anxiety and labor, for you were one of those who extended to me the hand of brotherly help and sympathized with me in all my struggles to interest the Church . . . in China."

Although Schereschewsky thought highly of William Boone, he did not, at this time, suggest him as his

successor. He felt that the dissensions in the Mission demanded an outsider as bishop. Moreover, he hoped that a more scholarly man than Boone would be chosen. To Henry Codman Potter, secretary of the House of Bishops, he wrote:

"The Missionary Bishop of Shanghai ought to be a good liberal-minded Churchman, not a partisan. He should also be a scholarly man. I beg permission to propose to the House of Bishops the Rev. Joseph H. Coit, Vice-Rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. I know Mr. Coit personally and I believe that he is such a one. . . . I think that the appointment . . . would serve the interests of the whole Mission and also, owing to his long experience in teaching, he could make St. John's College a very efficient institution. I believe that Mr. Coit is over forty, but . . . a scholarly man will find no difficulty at that age in acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the Chinese language to serve all purposes."

When Mr. Coit was sounded on the proposition, he said that his health as well as his obligation to assist his brother, the Rector of St. Paul's, whose health was likewise impaired, prevented him from considering it.

On October 24, 1883, the day that Schereschewsky's resignation was accepted, the House of Bishops elected the Rev. George Worthington of Detroit (later Bishop of Nebraska) as Bishop of Shanghai. Dr. Worthington declined the election. The House appointed a committee to persuade him to reconsider

it, and General Convention adjourned. The committee was unsuccessful.

When Schereschewsky heard that the Mission was thus left without any bishop he was profoundly distressed. He wrote to Bishop Williams of Connecticut, chairman of the House of Bishops, urging a special meeting of the House at the earliest possible moment for a new election, and he besought the Foreign Committee to back up his request as vigorously as they could. On January 10, 1884, he sent them the following:

"I am disturbed beyond measure at the present condition of affairs. The authority of the Standing Committee in Shanghai is challenged as illegal, and if this view be sustained by ecclesiastical law, . . . our Mission is left without any ecclesiastical authority whatever, and the gravest possible results may ensue.

"I have written two very urgent letters to Bishop Williams of Connecticut, one yesterday and one today, on this subject, and have told him that as a last resort I am willing to act as Bishop until my successor can be elected.

"Although I am absent from the field, I am in constant communication with the members of the Mission and know the exact situation of things. Moreover, although I say it myself, the members of the Mission look up to and have confidence in me and they are willing to defer to my judgment.

"The reason that I sent in my resignation was not that I wished to relieve myself of responsibility or to

get rid of the duties of my office, but because I was convinced that the state of affairs in the Mission was such as to demand the immediate presence of a bishop in the field. Could I have possibly conjectured that our Mission would have been left without a bishop after all, I should have felt it my plain duty to have retained the episcopate.

"I suppose that it is difficult for others to realize my intense interest in and my anxiety for the best welfare of the China Mission. As the Committee are aware, it was a prolonged struggle for me to interest the Church in the founding of St. John's College, and place the mission work upon its present basis. I forfeited my health and have been at death's door in its behalf, and now to see the Mission without a head and, it may be, with no authority in the field that can command obedience and respect, so distresses me that I am willing to make any sacrifice in my power to remedy the present state of affairs."

In letters to Bishops Williams and Doane and to the Foreign Committee, he reiterated his opinion that a new man would be best for the Shanghai episcopate, provided one of marked ability could be secured. In default of this he suggested William Boone. "I cannot say that Mr. Boone is a great scholar, but he is a man of good education and I believe truly devoted to the interests of the Church and the Mission. . . . If . . . the choice must be made from our own Mission, . . . there is no question but that Mr. Boone is the one best suited to the office."

At a special meeting of the House of Bishops on April 24, 1884, William Boone was elected, and a heavy burden lifted from Bishop Schereschewsky's shoulders.

At the same meeting a colored bishop, Samuel D. Ferguson, was elected for the African Mission. This pleased Bishop Schereschewsky, who, in the previous October, had urged upon the Board of Missions the wisdom of nominating a colored man for this office and of sending out with him a staff of colored helpers, although he saw no reason why white missionaries should not also serve under him. "I should have no objection to doing so," he said.

XXII

ONE-FINGER BIBLE

IT MUST have become increasingly clear to the Bishop that he could not hope for anything like a complete recovery. On May 3, 1886, after four years in Geneva, he wrote: "My general health is very good but I cannot report any *marked* progress recently in the use of my limbs or in the restoration of my powers of speech." He did, however, feel that he was well enough to resume work at translation, and hence planned to return to America and settle in California, where he hoped to be able to secure a Chinese scribe. Moreover, he wanted his children brought up as Americans, not as expatriates.

On August 10, 1886, he and his family left Geneva. They embarked at Rotterdam on the 21st and reached New York on September 3rd.

After six weeks in a boarding house in East Orange, New Jersey, whither they went immediately on their arrival in this country, they moved to Philadelphia, where, at 1634 West Park Avenue (now Diamond Street) they lived for half a year.

Mrs. Schereschewsky was kept almost continuously on the go, addressing women's meetings. Baltimore, Philadelphia, Clifton Heights (where Bates was then

Rector), West Chester (Pa.), Camden, Haddonfield, Burlington, New Brunswick, Salem (N. J.), New York, Brooklyn, Yonkers, Irvington, Dobbs Ferry, Pelham, Rye, Westchester, Sing Sing, Port Chester, Staten Island, Syracuse, Canandaigua, Albany, Buffalo (N. Y.), and Chicago were some of the places where she spoke during the first ten months after her return to this country. No wonder she exclaimed in December, 1886, "I am overburdened and at times hardly know which way to turn."

Fortunately the Bishop had been able to bring his Swiss man-servant to this country. In return for the payment of his passage he agreed to stay with the Bishop for at least a year. But the expense of retaining him prevented Mrs. Schereschewsky from employing other domestic assistance. Hence she asked the Board of Missions if they would permit twenty dollars a month from the allowance for the Bishop's medical expenses to be used for the man-servant. "I have now been in the service of the Foreign Committee—latterly the Board of Managers—for nearly twenty years," she wrote, "and this is the first time, as far as I remember, that I have come before them with any personal request. It is a trial to do so now, but it would be a foolish pride that would hinder me when I am really overburdened and in need of assistance." The request was granted.

When, at the end of his year's service, the Swiss went off to a better-paying position, the Bishop's son, then a sturdy lad of fourteen, was able in large meas-

ure to take his place. He could easily propel the "Coventry Chair," and help his father to dress in the morning and to get to bed at night. He could even carry him upstairs on his back, the Bishop holding on with his arms around his son's neck. The Bishop was, says his son, "always very helpful in being helped."

In Philadelphia the Bishop was examined by a specialist, Dr. H. C. Wood, who frankly told him that there had been "an irremediable alteration in his nervous system," and that complete restoration was not to be expected. However, under continued hydrotherapy, electrotherapy, and massage, further improvement was "quite possible." "I cannot," said the doctor, in a written opinion, "perceive either in your mental or physical state any insurmountable obstacle to your doing mental labor, and should think that so far as translating is concerned your usefulness is not destroyed. It would of course be essential to you to have an amanuensis familiar with the Chinese writing, to avoid overwork, to live regularly, and in a suitable climate; . . . especially ought you to avoid any extremes of heat or any malarial influences. I should think you ought to be able to do four or five hours work a day."

Armed with this statement, Mrs. Schereschewsky appeared before the Board of Missions' Committee on China and Japan, on March 8, 1887, with a request from her husband that he be sent back to China; for he had learned, on inquiry, that no suitable Chinese scribe could be found in California. His Mandarin

Old Testament needed revision, and if anyone else were to revise it "it would," he said, "be made a botch of." "It would be an occasion of real distress to me should I not be enabled to perfect a version which has proved so useful." He also wanted to do his share in producing a translation of the Scriptures into Easy Wenli, which, back in 1880, he had planned to undertake with Bishop Burdon.

"As to my physical condition, I am fully persuaded that I am able to do the work proposed . . . and my mental faculties have never been impaired." Although he could not write, he thought his power of speech had so improved that after a few days a Chinese scribe would be able to understand him. "I admit that my proposal involves risk and expense. But the risk is mainly to myself and I am willing to run it. As to the expense, I am persuaded that it will be fully justified if I am permitted to accomplish the work proposed."

Although the Committee did not tell the Bishop so, they went on record that they did not think Dr. Wood's report "strong or encouraging," and they undoubtedly deemed the Bishop's estimate of his own powers over-sanguine. They relieved themselves of the responsibility for making an immediate decision by referring the matter to the American Bible Society. That society had printed the Mandarin Old Testament. Would they undertake to print the Bishop's revision of it? They had at one time paid his salary. Would they do so again? The Bible Society was as

doubtful of the Bishop's present powers as the Committee of the Board of Missions, and equally canny. They replied that although any revision which the Bishop would make "will be likely to find favor with all concerned, . . . they do not feel at liberty to depart from the rule of the Society to wait for the completion of a work before finally adopting it." As to how and why that rule had been waived when they had previously adopted Schereschewsky's work and paid his salary for doing it long before it was completed, they were discreetly silent.

Their decision handed the problem back to the Board of Missions, who then proceeded to refuse the Bishop's request in a way that made it almost appear that they were not responsible for refusing it: they resolved that they did not feel justified in approving his return to China until they had "some assurance that the revision which he proposes . . . will be printed by the Bible Society when it is completed."

In the light of the Bishop's subsequent achievements the decisions of the Board of Missions and the American Bible Society might well be branded as lamentably short-sighted and needlessly discouraging to one who had notably served them both. But no one in either organization even vaguely suspected the courage, the persistence, and the capacity for work which the Bishop was yet to show. Had they used a present-day expression, they would have said unhesitatingly that the Bishop's confidence that he was

in condition to do the work he outlined was simply wishful thinking.

The final decision of the Board reached the Bishop at Clifton Springs, New York, whither he had gone with his family late in May, 1887. A Dr. Foster, who had a water cure establishment there, had offered him treatment without charge during the summer.

To one who could not write and who could secure no Chinese scribe, the decision of the Board might well have seemed an insuperable obstacle. But the Bishop was convinced that he had a God-given task to do, and he was not to be stopped by timorous Boards and hesitant Bible Societies. Before he left Switzerland the idea of a typewriter had occurred to him. Now that every other way was blocked he bought one—the “Caligraph.” His son learned to use it, and at first the Bishop thought he would depend on him for assistance, but he soon discovered that he himself could type with one finger—the middle finger of his right hand. When, as sometimes happened, this finger failed him, he would grasp a small stick in his fist and punch the keys with that. It would be slow work, but, as he said, revision was slow work anyway.

So in the summer of 1887, in the village of Clifton Springs, New York, Bishop Schereschewsky embarked on one of the most amazing literary undertakings of all time.

He began on the revision of the Mandarin Old Testament, hammering out on the typewriter with

his one finger—which soon acquired a callus on its tip—the English equivalents of the Chinese characters. At first he worked five or six hours a day, then seven, then eight, sometimes nine. In a little more than a year the revision of the Mandarin Old Testament was completed. Then he went on to a new translation of the entire Bible from the original tongues into the Easy Wenli, or the current form of the book language of China. He used, with some modification, the system of Romanization of Dr. S. Wells Williams' Chinese Dictionary. Six years were given to the first draft of the Easy Wenli Bible.

"I undertook this work," he wrote at the end of that time, "not as one making a literary venture, but as a missionary of the Church doing missionary work. I felt that God had called me to it, and had especially prepared and fitted me for it." "I regard it as the most important work of my missionary career."

There were, as he explained, two varieties of Wenli: the Antique and the Modern. The Antique or Classical Wenli was understood only by scholars, and was to all intents and purposes a dead language. There were two versions of the Bible in this form, made some decades previously. What was needed was a version in the Modern or Easy Wenli. This was understood by everyone who had received an ordinary education. Although it, like the antique form, was not spoken, it was not to be regarded as a dead language, since it was employed by the Chinese in codes of law, imperial edicts, official proclamations, diplomatic

correspondence, deeds, contracts, even newspapers, and advertisements. It was in this form that the Bishop had made his new translation.

The Mandarin version, useful and essential as it was, was not acceptable to educated Chinese, even in those regions where Mandarin was spoken. In southern China where Mandarin was not spoken it was seldom used. But the Easy Wenli could be understood by the literate all over the land. In short the Mandarin Bible was the Bible of the common people in two-thirds of China; the Easy Wenli Bible would be that of the educated throughout the entire country. Moreover, Wenli was also used in Korea, Cochin-China, Anam, Tongking, and to some extent in Japan; it was, said the Bishop, "the language of literature among one-fourth of the human race."

XXIII

TWENTY TONGUES AND TEN THOUSAND CHARACTERS

IN ADDITION to translation, the Bishop, soon after his return to this country, produced two vigorous articles. They were published in *The Churchman*; one on April 16, 1887, the other in two instalments in January, 1888. In November of that year he republished the latter, in an enlarged form, as a pamphlet addressed to the House of Bishops.

The first was a comparison of Buddhism and Christianity. In spite of their resemblances, he said, "no two religions are more diametrically opposed to each other. . . . Whilst Christianity is based upon theism, that is, upon the idea of a living personal God, who is the creator and preserver of the universe, Buddhism is based upon the blankest philosophic nihilism and atheism, and is a religion which regards existence in any shape as an evil. . . . If Christianity teaches that there is suffering inevitably connected with life in this world, it also teaches that such suffering is temporary and remediable; but Buddhism teaches an absolute and irremediable pessimism; the only hope that it holds out is annihilation."

"Buddhism," he concluded, "is a vast subject; . . . its literature in various languages is very extensive;

. . . there are among its sacred writings very many supposititious books; . . . it requires long investigation and deep research before the grains of truth can be gathered up from the heaps of falsehood. Would it not be well for those who derive their knowledge of Buddhism at second or third hand to pause before pronouncing dogmatically as to the merits of Christianity and Buddhism?"

The second article was on "Terminology in the China Mission." In it he discussed the Chinese words for *God*, *Holy Spirit*, *bishop*, *priest*, *holy communion* and *church*. He took the sensible position that terms were not to be rejected merely because, on the one hand, they had been coined by the Romanists, or, on the other, invented by the Protestants. They should be judged on their own merits.¹

He pointed out, incidentally, that the success of Roman Catholic Missions in China had been greatly exaggerated, and that the all too frequent habit of speaking disparagingly of Protestant Missions was due to ignorance of the actual state of affairs.

"In recent times the Protestant Missionaries, as a class, are far in advance of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Chinese scholarship. Most of the dictionaries, handbooks, grammars, translations of the

¹ He favored T'ien Chu for *God*, Ling for *Spirit*, Chu Kiao for *bishop*, Kiao Mu for *priest*, and Sheng Ch'an for *Holy Communion*. Hwei for *church* he thought unfortunate, but of too long standing to be disturbed. Kung Hwei, supposed to stand for *Catholic Church*, and used by the Episcopal Church as part of its title in China, really meant, he said, *Public Guild*!

Chinese classics, exhaustive works on the Chinese Empire, translations of modern scientific books into Chinese, have been the work of Protestant missionaries. . . . Within the last twenty-five years Protestant converts have multiplied twenty-fold, whereas the increase of Roman Catholic converts during the same period has not been at all remarkable. There is one aspect in which the success of Protestant missionaries has been considerable, while that of Roman Catholic missionaries has been almost nil. I refer to the impression made upon the Chinese as a nation.

"It is largely due to the labors of Protestant missionaries that China is now awakening from the sleep of centuries, and that Christian civilization is beginning to make an impression on the Chinese people. . . . It is well to remember that they [the Protestant missionaries] are too large and important a body to be slightly spoken of or complacently patronized."

After a summer at Clifton Springs in 1887, the Schereschewskys moved to Geneva, New York, where the Bishop continued treatment for over a year at the Hygienic Institute. Just before Christmas, 1888, they returned to Clifton Springs. Early that year Caroline had been sent to a girls' school, founded by Bishop Helmuth, at London, Ontario, and in September Joseph had entered the Holderness School at Plymouth, New Hampshire.

In May, 1889, the Bishop, having come to the conclusion that further medical treatment would do him no good, decided to move to Exeter, New Hamp-

shire, so that his son might live at home and help care for him, while attending the Phillips Academy there. Two years later, when the boy entered Harvard, the Schereschewskys moved to Cambridge. In 1893 Caroline finished at Helmuth and came home to continue her studies in Boston at the Conservatory and the Art Museum.

While in Exeter the Bishop wrote with some pride that his son stood high in studies and was "number one for faithfulness, effort, and general good conduct." Phillips Brooks, who had known the Schereschewskys since 1877, when he helped them in their campaign for St. John's, promised to use his influence to obtain free tuition at Harvard for the boy's first year; but it seems that the boy's school record and the commendation of his headmaster were quite as influential as Brooks in obtaining it. In subsequent years his standing merited a scholarship.

The Rev. Joseph Carden, now of Springfield, Massachusetts, remembers the Bishop in his Cambridge days. Mr. Carden was then a student at the Episcopal Theological School. A friend wrote to him before the Schereschewskys' coming, asking him to find them a boarding place. He engaged rooms at 69 Brattle Street, and shortly after their arrival called. He found the Bishop at work on his *Easy Wenli* translation. He was surrounded by Bibles. There was a pointed and an unpointed Hebrew Bible, the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, the English Authorized and Revised versions, German, French, Russian,

Lithuanian, Sanskrit, and Pali translations, the Mandarin Bible, and the two versions in Antique Wenli.

"What's the difference between the two Wenli Bibles?" queried Carden.

"One," said the Bishop, "is a good translation in poor Chinese; the other is a poor translation in good Chinese."

"How many languages can you speak?" asked Carden, impressed by the linguistic variety of the Scriptures before him.

"Thirteen," said the Bishop.

"And how many do you read?"

"Twenty."

On another occasion Carden asked how many characters there were in Chinese script, to which the Bishop replied that although there were about fifty thousand, fifteen thousand were all that appeared in adequate dictionaries.

"How many represent the vocabulary of the ordinary Chinese?" continued Carden.

"Perhaps six or seven hundred."

"How many have you at your command?"

"Between nine and ten thousand."

One morning Carden called at about ten o'clock and found the Bishop sitting idle, fumbling his good hand in his lap, and apparently in much distress.

"What's the matter, Bishop, aren't you well?" he asked.

"I'm well enough," replied the Bishop, "but the

typewriter won't move. I'll have to send in to Boston for a man to fix it."

Carden asked for a screw driver and soon had the machine going again. He then sat down to chat. "You will please excuse me," said the Bishop. "I've no time for conversation today. I've already lost two hours." Carden departed.

"The Bishop," says Carden, "begrudged every moment of idleness. His schedule was eight hours a day, every day, year in and year out."

Although the Bishop was living in the oldest university center in the United States, there were no oriental scholars on its faculty. Chinese, as Miss Schereschewsky has truly said, was as unknown in Cambridge at that time as the language of Mars. Although the Bishop had a few friends who occasionally cheered him by their visits, notably the Rev. Edward Abbott, rector of St. James' Church, there was no one whom he could consult about his work. "One of the most pathetic features of the undertaking," says his daughter, "was that in a sense he was alone."

Bishop William Lawrence, who was, during part of the time the Schereschewskys lived in Cambridge, dean of the Episcopal Theological School there, remembers calling on them in "a little apartment opposite Jarvis Field or near there." This was at 47 Wendell Street, flat B, whither they had moved in December, 1891. "As I went into the room there was this keen, brilliant old man sitting in front of a typewriter, keeping himself warm by the first gas radiator

that I remember to have seen; and I said to myself, 'Why does the Church allow this learned scholar to live in such drab surroundings? . . .' However, he gave me a hearty welcome and . . . revealed a sense of gratitude at my coming which put me to the blush, for I had thought of it as a bit of almost condescending kindness to make the call, and I found him so much superior to myself and all his surroundings. . . . He struck me as a man not only of great scholarship but of exceptional refinement of temper and nobility of spirit."

Bishop Lawrence's question as to why the Church permitted Bishop Schereschewsky to live in such drab surroundings might well have been asked concerning many another of her old or disabled servants. In raising the Church Pension Fund, Bishop Lawrence himself has helped to remove some of the reproach of the question for the future. Yet it should be said in justice to the Church and to the Board of Missions, that Bishop Schereschewsky's pension was considerably larger than he would receive today under the Church Pension Fund.

The Board of Missions had continued his salary of \$3,000 a year until his resignation from the episcopate, and seven months beyond. On June 1, 1884, he was pensioned at half salary plus \$250 for the education of his children and \$600 for rent and medical care, a total of \$2,350. Nine years later, when the allowance for the children's education ceased, this was reduced to \$2,100. According to a rule of the

Board, educational appropriations stopped when children completed their eighteenth year, but the rule had been interpreted liberally and the payment continued until his daughter was nineteen and his son twenty. Moreover, on two occasions there were extra grants—\$200 in 1888 and \$300 in 1890—to help him meet unusual needs.

In the light of the Board's resources this was indeed generous, and the Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky repeatedly and gratefully acknowledged it as such. But they had no private income whatever; what little they had saved in former years was completely used up before the end of 1888; education of their children, which was their major concern, was no small item, and the Bishop's condition made employment of household service imperative. "Life was much harder for us in the United States than on the Continent," says Miss Schereschewsky. "We were not used to the conditions, and the presence of an invalid made everything difficult and expensive." There was no alternative to living in "drab surroundings." "The shabby little house we lived in," is her characterization of their home during this period. She does not specify which of the half dozen or more houses they occupied in Exeter and Cambridge she refers to, but the description applies equally well to them all.²

² In Cambridge, after boarding three months at 69 Brattle Street, they lived, from December, 1891, to September, 1893, in a flat in a three-family house at 47 Wendell Street; then for three months in a smaller flat in a similar house at 90 Hammond Street, and for three more in another of the same sort at 61 Gorham Street. The remainder

When, in 1893, Mrs. Schereschewsky was apprehensive—fortunately without cause—that the Bishop's allowance was to be so reduced that she could no longer employ a servant, she said she did not see how she could possibly get along without one, since she herself was constantly engaged in caring for her husband, superintending his diet, conducting his correspondence, and rendering him all sorts of personal service. "The incessant care and anxiety of the last twelve years has not been without its effect." "I fear that my health would permanently break down under any further strain." She was, as her daughter has said, "wife, companion, mother, and friend" to the Bishop through all his years of disability.

In 1888 she sent a photograph of herself to a friend. Her son had persuaded her to sit for it. "This is about the last photo," she wrote, "that I am willing to have taken. . . . When one has passed two decades in the foreign missionary work they are not likely subjects for photos."

of their stay, from April, 1894, to August, 1895, was in a house no longer standing at 120 Brattle Street. During the two summers before coming to Cambridge they had spent some weeks at Kennebunk Beach, Maine, but they remained all year in Cambridge, except in 1894, when they spent the summer in Linden, Massachusetts.

XXIV

A BATTERED DESK

BY DECEMBER, 1894, the Bishop had completed the first draft of his Easy Wenli Bible. Earlier that year when the end was in sight he had appealed once more to the Board of Missions to send him back to China that he might have the assistance of Chinese scribes in improving and polishing the style and in turning his Romanized text into the Chinese character. He would be ready, he said, to go any time after his son's graduation from college in June, 1895.

"As to the state of my health," he wrote, "for nearly seven years I have been able to work between eight and nine hours a day, and I am confident that with the help of God I shall be able to do the same in China. . . . If I do not go out, the result of years of labor may be lost, which will be a terrible blow to me. . . . I may assure the Board that if I return to China, it will be for good, with the intention of ending my days there. It will be the greatest happiness to me to be permitted to work to the last in the field to which I have devoted myself."

On December 11, 1894, the Board voted to send him back to China. Three months later they told him that they had no objection to his appealing through

the Church papers, for contributions toward a fund for the publication of his translations.

The way had been paved for this by a published letter from Frederick R. Graves. The Bishop's earlier prophecy that Graves would have a notable missionary career was being rapidly fulfilled. On June 14, 1893, he had been consecrated Bishop of Shanghai, as successor to Bishop Boone, who had died in 1891. Graves visited Schereschewsky in Cambridge a month after his consecration and at once wrote to *The Churchman* telling of the remarkable thing the disabled Bishop was doing. "No one," said Graves, "can see him at his work without being filled with admiration for an energy so untiring."

In April, 1895, the Bishop's appeal appeared. "When I resigned from the episcopate," he said, "I did not resign my position as a missionary. . . . I felt that there remained a great work for me to do." He went on to describe what he had accomplished and the importance of it, and concluded: "I have spent more than seven years of incessant toil upon this work and, disabled as I am, I do not shrink from going out to China to carry it to completion. I count all the years I have toiled, all the difficulties I have or shall encounter as nothing, if I am only permitted to see this work accomplished. Will not the Church contribute speedily and liberally to this end?"

A week later *The Churchman* published a letter from one of the Bishop's former co-laborers in translation, the Presbyterian missionary, Dr. W. A. P.

Martin, president of the Government College in Peking, who was at the moment in this country. He spoke of the Bishop's distinguished scholarship, and pictured him "with his one usable finger striking the typewriter until it has printed in Roman letters, upon more than twenty-five hundred pages," his Wenli translation. "Such an example of heroic perseverance, combined with such abilities and such antecedent preparation for his work, is rarely met. It should be rewarded."

The reward the Bishop asked was meager enough—to be allowed to go on working. For this, \$5,000 was needed. The country was again in the throes of a financial depression, but within three months he received \$6,650.

Heartening as this response was, it did not relieve him of financial worries. The Board had voted to pay the passage of himself and Mrs. Schereschewsky to China, but their resources did not warrant further appropriations for a traveling outfit for them, nor for household furnishings on their arrival in the field, nor for the passage of their daughter. The Bishop had not a cent for her passage nor for the other necessary expenses of his going. Despite the utmost economy and ever cheaper and drabber lodgings, he was, in the spring of 1895, behindhand financially.

"As the Board knows," he wrote, "whatever my shortcomings may be, I have never been either a self-seeker or an ease loving man. But my disability puts me at a disadvantage in every way. . . . After weeks of

anxiety almost too great for me to support, I feel that my only resource is to bring these matters before the Board." "I should certainly pay my daughter's traveling expenses, had I the means, but I have not, and what am I to do?"

He reminded the Board that in his appeal to the Church he had asked for money, not only to complete and publish his translations, but also to meet the expense of sending him out to do so. Why should not, therefore, the cost of getting himself and his household to China and settling them there in reasonable comfort, come from this fund, especially as it had been over-subscribed by \$1,650? "Certainly," he said, "it cannot be the mind of the Church that I should be embarrassed, perplexed, and anxious to the last degree, for lack of means to provide what is essential for my going, and to ensure suitable and decent household necessities upon my arrival in the field. . . . The means have been supplied for the publication of the Bible, and the most important thing now is that I should be in the field to publish it."

Seth Low, who had given \$1,000 to the fund, when he heard of the Bishop's dilemma, said that he desired the whole of his gift to be applied to the Bishop's needs, and the Board, further convinced by the Bishop's reasoning, appropriated \$600 more from the fund for this purpose.

Thus with a light heart, made even lighter by his son's graduation from college and enrolment as a student of medicine, the Bishop, with his wife and

daughter, began the journey from Cambridge to Shanghai, via Montreal and Vancouver, on August 15, 1895.

Three days before, when writing about shipping his books and Coventry Chair, he said, "I have yet to send a box containing my typewriter desk (value \$15.00), which I still cling to, though it is old and battered, for the associations connected with it; for it is at that desk that I have sat for eight years and on it I have done all my work; so that I do not find it in my heart to leave it behind."

XXV

RECOGNITION

ON SEPTEMBER 14, 1895, the Schereschewskys arrived in Shanghai, the Bishop in good health and spirits, for he was an excellent sailor, but Mrs. Schereschewsky "rather knocked up by the journey." Rooms had been engaged for them at the Astor House, where the manager was an old friend, and where they were at less expense than they would have been keeping house.

As soon as the Bishop could find competent scribes he began work. This was but nine days after his arrival. He engaged two, one to help him in the revision of the text, the other in the conversion of his Romanized script into the Chinese character. Being accomplished scholars, they were both in such demand that they could give him but part time—between them eight hours a day. He lamented that it was no more, but was delighted, nevertheless, that the work went so well. Later he secured the assistance of a Christian Chinese woman, a Mrs. Wei (Wei Chien Min), who had been educated as a girl in the schools of his own Mission. Understanding English, she could readily read his typescript, and proved to be a highly efficient copyist. She died in 1932 at the age of eighty-

four, after a long and successful career as a Christian teacher.

Mrs. Schereschewsky wrote to their old friend, Joshua Kimber, giving "some of the details of our life here, homely as they are":

"We are on the first floor just above the ground floor, being raised by a few steps only. We have two rooms with enclosed veranda . . . which can be used as smaller rooms, and my husband has his outside room for a little study. There are two Chinese writing tables in it, chairs, and the books he needs for his work. It has long windows ending about three feet from the floor and overlooking a walk bordered with grass and shrubs set out at intervals and enclosed by the low wall surrounding the hotel grounds.

"Our windows overlook also a Chinese street. There is a handsome foreign house opposite, and then come Chinese shops, carpenters, painters and, farther on, a blacksmith's shop. The men work all the days of the week, Sunday included, and the sound of the saw and the anvil is incessant and makes the Sunday most unhomelike. . . .

"Each of our rooms has a little passage leading out upon the corridor, . . . and off from these little passages are the bathrooms, with hot and cold water, for there are now water works in Shanghai. And it is lighted by electricity as well.

"The methods of locomotion are largely the all pervasive jinricksha, used both by natives and foreigners,



BISHOP SCHERESCHEWSKY IN 1895

the wheelbarrow, used by natives, and traps, carriages, etc., used mainly by foreigners down here in this part of the city, although one sees many natives of an afternoon driving on the Bubbling Well Road, leading out to St. John's. Shanghai is much built up, and there are many factories for the manufacture of silk and cotton thread. . . .

"My husband thinks nothing of calling a jinricksha and going out to St. John's. I have been once only since coming here, for I am far from strong and have been ailing since our arrival, having been very seasick on the voyage and upset generally.

"Having been so long away things seem strange and unhomelike, and I have longed for my own land, as was natural. It is not well for missionaries to remain so long at home, the roots strike in too deeply and the wrench is too great in coming away. I speak entirely for myself, for my husband seems quite at home. As long as he sees the work he came to do making progress, all is well.

"St. John's College looks beautiful. If our Church people could see the new college buildings [a quadrangle erected in 1894 and later named Schereschewsky Hall], the order and neatness everywhere prevailing, the handsome church with its beautiful chancel window, . . . they would be greatly surprised to hear for what a comparatively small sum all this has been and is being accomplished. I was very much impressed by it all."

Every Sunday the Bishop went out to service at

St. John's. The college had weathered a difficult period after his disablement. But from the coming of F. L. Hawks Pott in 1886, and especially from the beginning of his phenomenal headship in 1888, the work had gone steadily forward. It was an immense satisfaction to the Bishop to find St. John's actually becoming what he had hoped and planned it would be, and to see at its head exactly the sort of man he had, in earlier days, sought for in vain.

The Bishop also found an invariably helpful counsellor and friend in Bishop Graves. Wrote Graves to the Board of Missions: "I am . . . proud to reckon so eminent a scholar among the active members of the Mission. I say among the *active members* because, although his infirmity obliges him to confine himself to one kind of work, he works most steadily and perseveringly at that long hours every day."

Graves recommended to the Board that his status and salary be no longer that of a retired missionary, but of a senior presbyter in active service, and the Board agreed. Henceforth his salary was \$1,750 plus living quarters, the services of the mission doctor when needed, and \$300 extra, because of his physical disability, for attendants. This not only enabled him to contribute something toward his son's medical education, which the latter was pursuing at Dartmouth, but it gave him the assurance that at last the worth of his work and his ability to do it had been fully recognized.

And this recognition came not only from the Board of Missions, but also—though somewhat tardily—

from the American Bible Society. We recall how, in 1887, that Society had refused to give any assurance that they would publish the revision of the Mandarin Old Testament which the Bishop then proposed. When, in the fall of 1888, he had finished this revision, he again asked if they would publish it. Their previous refusal had, it seems, been due to their doubt of his ability to do the work. Now that it was done, another difficulty presented itself. A conference of missionaries was to meet at Shanghai in 1890 to consider the preparation of "Union" versions of the Bible; that is, versions prepared by committees representing all denominations. The Bible Society decided to wait and see what this Conference would do.

The Conference proposed new versions in the Mandarin and in both Antique and Easy Wenli. Schereschewsky was invited to serve, by correspondence, on the Mandarin and the Easy Wenli Committees. He declined; partly because of the obvious difficulty of working by correspondence; partly because he was already well along with his own translations and knew that it would be years before committees of men, actively engaged in other forms of mission labor, could get anything in this line done; and partly because he disagreed with the proposal as far as a new version in Mandarin was concerned.

There is no reason, he said, "to expect that a new translation will be an improvement on the existing one. It is not likely that a new translation committee will know more Greek and Chinese than the transla-

tors of the New Testament, or more Hebrew than the translator of the Old Testament. A new Mandarin Version in my opinion is not only not called for, but is to be deprecated. . . . A revision of the existing Mandarin is all that is needed. I may be mistaken; I think that the whole movement toward getting up a new Mandarin version is owing a great deal to national and denominational jealousy."

Finally, he felt that he would serve the cause of Bible translation better by publishing his work, thus submitting it to the test of criticism and use, so that the Union Committees, if they ever did get down to serious business, could use it as a basis for their own. Other scholars agreed with him in this, notably Dr. Henry Blodget of Peking, who repeatedly urged the Bible Society to publish his translations. That Society, however, thought it better to wait for the Union versions. And the Bishop, as we have seen, had received enough money from his appeal to the Church to enable him to publish both his Mandarin revision and his Easy Wenli version without their aid.

However, the representative of the Bible Society in China was wiser than those who directed its destinies at home. The Rev. Dr. John R. Hykes (pronounced High-kis) had come to China as a Methodist missionary in 1872, directly from theological seminary. Twenty-one years later he became the Agent of the Bible Society. He was then described by his contemporaries as a strong, portly man with a large frame, somewhat coarse, wide awake, well informed,

prompt, and business-like in his methods, and one who "writes a very good letter."

He early sought out the Bishop and appears to have conceived a genuine admiration for him. It may be doubted whether he were competent to judge of the excellence of the Bishop's translations, but he soon sensed the esteem in which they were held by experts in Chinese, and concluded that it would be good business, if nothing more, for the American Bible Society to publish them. A new printing of the Mandarin Bible was needed; the old plates were worn out; the "Union" version was not even remotely in sight. Why not incorporate the Bishop's revision in the new plates? If the Society issued a new edition without revision and the Bishop published his revised edition independently, the Society's new edition would be left on its hands.

To the Bishop Hykes pointed out that a Bible translation issued by an interdenominational society would have a much wider reception than one published under the auspices of a single Church. The latter would be suspected of a denominational bias. The Bishop saw the cogency of this argument, and his resentment against the Bible Society for its long neglect of him was softened by Hykes' tact and good humour. But Hykes had still to persuade the authorities in New York. After a year's delay they were brought to agree, as far as the Bishop's Mandarin revision was concerned, and late in 1896 authorized its publication.

But they wavered on his Easy Wenli version. On

April 15, 1897, the secretary of the Bible Society wrote permitting Hykes to print an edition of 3,000 copies of the Bishop's Easy Wenli New Testament. On May 3rd he withdrew this permission. And it was not until after the Bishop had published independently tentative editions of his New Testament and Pentateuch in Easy Wenli that the Bible Society finally authorized the publication of his Easy Wenli Bible.

They had been impressed by the favorable reception of the tentative editions of his work. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, whom Hykes justly spoke of as "one of the first scholars in the Empire," wrote in *The Chinese Recorder* for June, 1899, that the Bishop's Easy Wenli translation would undoubtedly obtain "a very wide circulation and exert a profound influence on the final version, if finality is ever attained. Its conspicuous merits are those of our English Revised Version, viz., ripe scholarship and critical research. . . . Its style, simple enough to be 'understood of the people,' is yet sufficiently polished to meet the taste of the most fastidious of China's literati." "I cordially commend [it] to missionaries of every creed and confession."

Other favorable comments poured in on Hykes, which he assiduously passed on to the Society's directors. Dr. Henry Blodget wrote directly to the secretary of the Society: "It [the Easy Wenli version] has been made in a remarkable manner and by a remarkable man. The Society may wait a hundred years and not meet with his like." He added cannily: "If the

Society refuses to print this version, is it not possible that some other Society may take up so rare a work, and thus deprive the Society of its opportunity?"

Today it is one of the proudest boasts of the American Bible Society that it was the publisher of Bishop Schereschewsky's Easy Wenli Bible.

XXVI

A GOOD SCHOLAR—BUT OBSTINATE

BY THE end of July, 1896, the text of the Easy Wenli Bible had been put into Chinese character. The Bishop then proposed going to Peking to secure the assistance of the best Chinese scholars in polishing the style. Sir Robert Hart of the Imperial Chinese Customs offered him the temporary occupancy of a house, and preparations were nearly completed for the journey, when something—it is not clear what—unexpectedly, and to the Bishop's great disappointment, prevented his going. Whatever the hindrance was, it was a fortunate one, for had he gone he would have been in Peking during the Boxer Uprising and the subsequent siege.

He went on revising and polishing his Wenli text in Shanghai. In December, 1896, Hykes was able to tell him that the Bible Society wanted to publish his revised Mandarin Old Testament in a new edition of the Mandarin Bible of 20,000 copies. Hykes also said that the printing could be better and more cheaply done in Japan, and that it would greatly facilitate matters if the Bishop were on the spot to oversee it. He offered, on behalf of the Bible Society, to pay the traveling expenses of the Bishop and his family to

Tokyo and the salary of a Chinese scribe to go with him. The Bishop accepted the offer and on May 8, 1897, left Shanghai.

Both he and Mrs. Schereschewsky were pleased and benefited by the change in climate. Although Tokyo was warm in summer, it was much cooler than Shanghai, and they found it a boon to be there. "Our coming hither," wrote Mrs. Schereschewsky, "seems to me providential. We are getting too old to bear the stress of such awful heat," as in Shanghai.

On November 4th, Bishop McKim of Tokyo, who had just returned from the Lambeth Conference, wrote: "Bishop Schereschewsky called on me yesterday. He says that his general health was never better. . . . He works full time every day and is none the worse for it."

Mr. Kin (Kin Shih-ho, Hsu-sheng), the Chinese scribe who went to Japan with him, was an excellent assistant, but was unwilling to remain away from home for more than a few months. His successor, Mr. Yeh (Yeh Shan-jung, Shu-t'ao), was less efficient and less congenial. He lacked interest in the work, took time out periodically for real or imagined illness, and generally tried the Bishop's patience. When Hykes, on one of his periodical visits to Tokyo from Shanghai, asked the Bishop what he thought of his scribe, he said, "He is a good scholar, but obstinate." Later Hykes asked the scribe what he thought of the Bishop. The reply was, "He is a good scholar, but obstinate."

When Hykes suggested that Mr. Yeh might be a

bit more considerate of the Bishop because of his infirmity, Mr. Yeh replied, "Well, you see, Dr. Hykes, it's like this: Sometimes the Bishop wants me to write a certain character. I say I don't think it's the correct one. The Bishop says it is. I say it isn't. Then he says I must write it anyway. And I reply, 'I won't write it; and you can't. What are you going to do about it?'"

This naturally enraged the Bishop. He dubbed Mr. Yeh, "My Boxer." In one of their heated arguments the latter burst out, "Don't you suppose I know my own language?" To which the Bishop retorted with equal emphasis, "Yes, and I spoke it before you were born."

What with scribal irritation and delays in printing and printer's errors, which were legion, the Bishop found it, as Mrs. Schereschewsky said, "rather uphill work." "At times his patience is sorely taxed."

"I often beg him to stop and rest a while," she continued, "but he will not listen to me. I too feel my years and the drawback of my poor vision, but have been able to keep up thus far, though falling far short of what I want to do. . . . My husband's correspondence and my own suffer. I have lots of housework to do as well, for the Japanese servants do not undertake as much as the Chinese, nor are they as responsible and well trained, although they have certain virtues which I like."

The Bishop worked steadily, day in and day out,

winter and summer, his chief diversion being his "exercise," as he called his daily afternoon ride through the city in a 'ricksha. His daughter thus describes his manner of life at this time: "He lived according to the most methodical rule. He woke very early and, his toilet being completed, would breakfast; after prayers he worked with his scribe until noon, and after lunch he worked till four o'clock, and then went out in his 'ricksha for two hours. After dinner he would pass the evening in study, or listening to my mother or myself reading aloud, or in dictating letters." He enjoyed an occasional game of chess with Bishop McKim's son John, then a youth in his teens.

By the spring of 1899 he had corrected the final proofs of the new edition of the Mandarin Bible, containing his revision of the Old Testament. This was published by the Bible Society in November of that year. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1898, he had published independently his *Easy Wenli New Testament*, and, a year later, his *Easy Wenli Pentateuch*. It had been, said Mrs. Schereschewsky, "a long hard pull, . . . but the Lord has mercifully sustained him."

On Trinity Sunday, June 5, 1898, for the first time in seventeen years, he put on his episcopal robes and, seated in the chancel of Trinity Cathedral, Tokyo, assisted Bishop McKim in the ordination to the priesthood of G. M. Cutting, a young missionary from Nara. Eighteen months later, on the Feast of the Purification, 1900, he joined Bishops McKim and

Graves in the first consecration of a bishop of the Episcopal Church to be held in Japan—that of the Rev. Sidney C. Partridge as Bishop of Kyoto.

It was in 1899 that the Bible Society came to the decision to publish his Easy Wenli Old Testament and, after further urging by Hykes, voted, early in 1900, to publish his entire Easy Wenli Bible.

This appeared in the late autumn of 1902. Months before it was published advance orders for it poured in. "I never saw such a demand for Bibles," wrote Hykes in July, "as we have had to meet since the beginning of this year. Bishop Schereschewsky's Bible is evidently going to be a great success. It is a new experience to sell an entire edition before the books are issued from the press."

Mrs. Schereschewsky said that when she finally saw the completed volume she was awed to think how much of her husband's life had gone into it. But she looked on it chiefly, she added, as "a monument to the Giver of all good," who had "sustained him and enabled him to proceed day by day with the work."

"Doubtless," said the Bishop, "better versions than mine will be made in the future, but at least I have done the best I could."

The editor of *The Spirit of Missions* made this discerning comment: "No one save the Bishop himself knows how much the successful completion of his work is due to the devoted self-sacrifice of Mrs.

Schereschewsky. . . . Together they share in the honor of a great achievement."

The Board of Missions in their Annual Report wrote that the outstanding mark of progress in the entire field of the Church's missionary endeavor during the year, was the completion of the Wenli Bible, "begun in weakness of body, but continued and ended in strength of spirit"; and they recorded their "high appreciation of this, the crowning work of the Bishop's ministry." They doubtless also thought of it as the last.

On November 26, 1902, Hykes, who had just been to Tokyo, wrote, "The Bishop is showing unmistakable signs of the final breakup. He is now in his 72nd year and I fear he will not be with us much longer. He is very nervous and anxious lest he die before he finishes the work he has laid out for himself. And another symptom I do not like is his excessive hysteria. He will burst out crying when engaged in conversation, but particularly when he makes reference to leaving his wife and daughter."

If either the Board of Missions or Dr. Hykes and the Bible Society concluded that the Bishop's work was done they were mistaken. The mood of depression in which Hykes had found him was a passing one. Nine months later Bishop Graves spent a few days with him in Tokyo and reported him in excellent spirits, clear and vigorous mentally, working eight hours a day on references for a Reference Bible, and full of enthusiastic plans for the future.

He proposed, first, to publish reference editions of both the Mandarin and Easy Wenli Bibles. He had begun them early in 1901 while seeing the Easy Wenli Bible through the press. It was work of fundamental importance, for no Reference Bible existed in any Chinese tongue. Next, he planned a thorough revision of both his Easy Wenli and Mandarin versions, so as to bring them into complete harmony. In preparation for this he was having the two pasted side by side, verse opposite to verse, so he could readily compare them. The Mandarin revision was to include a revision of the Pekin Committee's New Testament. In the third place he hoped to adapt the Easy Wenli version for use in Japan, whose written language was similar to that of China. Finally, he would translate the Apocrypha into both Mandarin and Easy Wenli.

"It is," said Graves, "an enormous mass of work for anyone, let alone a man who is a paralytic, but with him, as with St. Paul, hindrances do not seem to matter. One cannot help thinking of St. Paul's words in his imprisonment, 'The Word of God is not bound.'"

G. F. Mosher, now Bishop of the Philippines, who had gone to China as a missionary in 1896, recalls visiting Bishop Schereschewsky in Tokyo in February, 1904. He had been using the Bishop's Easy Wenli Bible in China and had queried a peculiar translation of a passage in Ecclesiastes. "I made up my mind," he says, "to ask the Bishop about it. . . . I primed myself on it with chapter and verse, so that I could explain to him exactly what I was asking. When I got to

Tokyo I told him what the thing was and asked why it had been translated that way. Before I could tell him chapter and verse, much to my surprise, he not only told *me* chapter and verse right off hand, but he went on and mentioned some five, six, or seven other places in Ecclesiastes where the same thing occurred, told me what the Hebrew was, what the Chinese was, and explained why there had been such a translation. . . . The thing that struck me that day was the simply unparalleled memory of the man, and I have never forgotten it. . . . I came away with the feeling that if I had asked him about anything in the whole Bible his reply would have been probably as complete. . . . And this from a man who sat there in his chair paralyzed, and who, when he tried to put on his spectacles, was entirely unable to do so, because both hands shook so that he could not get them into place. I had to put them on for him. . . .

“We had dinner with him one Sunday night and I remember Mr. [Frank E.] Wood, the Brotherhood representative, saying that he was going to China to work and wanted to take up the Chinese language. The Bishop pointed to his shelves and had Mr. Wood bring him one of thirty volumes of a history of Mongolia in Chinese. He told him to take that history and to learn Chinese by reading it through. I well remember how flabbergasted Wood was, as indeed we were too, and how he asked the Bishop if anyone had ever read it through, only to be assured that he had himself.”

XXVII

A NEW HOUSE

FORTUNATELY for the progress of the work and the Bishop's peace of mind, he had, in the summer of 1902, secured a competent and devoted helper, a Chinese scholar, Lien Ying-Huang, a Christian and a graduate of the Presbyterian College at Têngchow, whose interest in the Bishop's projects was hardly less than that of the Bishop himself. He also employed a Japanese copyist named Bun. Such was the Bishop's mental energy that he kept both his assistants working full time.¹

By the end of 1904 his mind was also set at rest on another matter: a new house had been built which was to be his and his wife's as long as either of them lived. Hitherto they had dwelt in small, inconvenient, rented houses, at 41 C and 51 A Tsukiji. The movement to build them a house of their own had begun with a letter from Bishop McKim to the Secretary of the Board of Missions, on December 5, 1900:

"My sympathies are deeply moved for Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky. They have been in Tokyo three and a half years and have lived in a rented house

¹ Two other Chinese scribes, Yu Pao-seng and Chang Chieh-chih, had preceded Lien as the Bishop's helpers.

which is utterly inadequate for their needs. The house is but a wooden shell which, in the event of a fire, would burn to the ground in ten minutes. The Bishop in his helpless condition could with the greatest difficulty only be rescued without injury.

"He has but one room for his own use; this answers for a study, bedroom, and sitting room. In it he works eight hours daily with his Chinese assistant. In bad weather when he is unable to go out in his chair, there is no opportunity for throwing the windows open to air the room properly, and he consequently has trouble with his head and suffers from insomnia.

"Houses are very scarce and rents exorbitant in Tokyo. Mrs. Schereschewsky has been on the keen lookout for a better house for more than a year, and cannot find one. Is it not possible for the Board to do something for them? An appropriation of \$5,000 would build them a house and pay the rent of a lot on a twenty-year lease. If the Board cannot grant this, may not some wealthy Churchman be moved to do so?

"The manly Christian courage which, in spite of disabilities and infirmity, has persevered in the great work of translating from the original tongues into the Chinese language the whole Bible, deserves more recognition from the Christian world than it has yet received. The Bishop has been a missionary of the Board for more than forty years, and he ought to have more than a shelter out of which he may be turned at a minute's notice.

"The Bishop had his right arm broken about a month ago by being thrown from a jinricksha. The fractured parts are knitting slowly. He is somewhat depressed in spirit, and it would help him measurably if the Church at home would do something toward providing a house for his wife and himself for the remaining years of his life.

"If you all could see him daily sitting before his table, eager to complete the great work which he believes God has given him to do, unable to use either hands or feet, and with indistinct articulation giving expression to his thoughts, your admiration for the man would be like mine—of deepest reverence."

The Board, confronted with a falling off of missionary offerings, could appropriate nothing. They published portions of Bishop McKim's letter, in the hope that contributions would be made for the purpose. A year and a half later they repeated the appeal. By the spring of 1903 about \$1,500 had come in.

Bishop McKim wrote again:

"Bishop Schereschewsky is one of the most remarkable men I have ever met. His courage and energy are indomitable. Paralyzed in hands and feet; unable to move without assistance, his mind is as vigorous as it ever was. . . . Mrs. Schereschewsky is his devoted attendant and amanuensis. She is getting feeble, and I dread to think of the Bishop's condition if she were to predecease him. They have both been faithful servants of Christ and His Church in this mission field for more than forty years, and it does seem right that

they should have a roof to shelter them which they might call their own so long as they live. The Bishop's chief concern is for his wife. He wept when I called upon him, and said: 'What is to become of my wife if I should die?'

"We younger men, living in the comfortable houses that the Mission has provided for us, feel somewhat ashamed when we compare our situation with that of this aged man of God. It will rejoice us all to see the Bishop and Mrs. Schereschewsky in their own house. In addition to giving them a home it would give the Bishop the satisfaction of thinking that his many years of service were in this way recognized by the Church. Cannot something be done? Six thousand dollars is needed."

Miss Mary Coles of Philadelphia, an old friend of the Bishop, proceeded to raise the needed money, giving most of it herself; and a new house, described by Bishop McKim as "the finest house in the Mission, exactly adapted to the Bishop's needs," was built at 56 A Tsukiji. At the beginning of December, 1904, the Bishop and his family moved in.

In the summer of 1904 the Bishop had been ill at Nikko, whither he had gone for a vacation. He had barely recovered when, in October, he went to St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo to have a carbuncle lanced. A second developed when he was out but a few days and he had to return. It was December before he was reasonably well again. But during a good part of his

illness he had had Lien come to his bedside, and had gone on with his work. He was able to go to church on Christmas Day.

About two weeks before Christmas he had received a copy of the St. John's College Annual for 1904. In it Y. T. Tsur, then an undergraduate, now one of St. John's most distinguished alumni, spoke of the founding of the college, saying that to Bishop Schereschewsky it owed "its existence and prosperity. . . . His name shall live as long as the college exists, and his memory shall be preserved with gratitude and reverence by all who have been connected with it." It was a just as well as a graceful tribute, and pleased the Bishop immensely.

It must have been a still further satisfaction to him to learn, early in the next year, that this college, which he had established on such a modest scale in 1879, was incorporated as a university.

A few years later, an American journalist, William T. Ellis, visited the Orient and, on his return to America, wrote: "St. John's University, Shanghai, is unquestionably the greatest educational institution in China. I have talked over the subject with many men of many denominations and they all concede this. It has stood for the highest ideals of culture and of Christianity. The thoroughness of its work and the excellence of its standing have commanded the allegiance of the very best class of Chinese in the Empire. I have been chagrined to find many Episcopalians on

this side of the water who did not know of this immense work which their Church is doing on the other side of the world. . . . If St. John's were the property of my Church I would do a deal of bragging about it—in fact I have bragged not a little about it as it is.”

XXVIII

A HAPPY OLD MAN

THE BISHOP'S increasing ill health was attended by increasing irritability. In 1900, Hykes, after a visit to Japan to make arrangements for printing the Easy Wenli Bible, wrote to the Bible Society: "I am happy to say that the good Bishop and I have never had the slightest hitch or misunderstanding; but he is getting old, he is suffering from a terrible infirmity of nearly twenty years' standing, and he requires very careful handling."

Others who knew the Bishop in his later years would have agreed that he required very careful handling. Dean Hoffman of the General Seminary, when corresponding with the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the possible publication of the Wenli Bible under the joint auspices of the English and the American Church, apologized for the Bishop's abrupt refusal to submit his translation to a committee of English orientalists, saying, "the Bishop is a sick man and at times irritable and unreasonable."

When Henry St. George Tucker, later Bishop of Kyoto and now of Virginia, first went to Japan, he frequently called on the Bishop. He always found him ready to stop and talk, but when, owing to his diffi-

culty of speech, Tucker misunderstood him and made a foolish reply, the Bishop would be ready to explode with exasperation. Another neighbor of the Bishop at the time speaks of him as "a very irascible old gentleman."

An understanding comment on this side of his nature is given by his daughter: "Although a sufferer for many years and tormented at times by intense nervous depression and irritability, . . . when free from pain his face showed beautiful serenity and would light with an irradiating smile. . . . Sometimes his sufferings caused him to express himself with an unnatural hastiness and energy, but I never knew anyone show a kinder or sweeter sense of compunction or greater anxiety to make amends, if he thought that he had been hasty or had wounded anyone. We who knew him best could only wonder at his essential patience."

In January, 1903, there appeared in *The Japan Register and Messenger* an article entitled "A Happy Old Man." It was written by the editor, Arthur Lloyd, who was also president of St. Paul's College, Tokyo, and a neighbor of the Bishop.

"Almost any afternoon," he said, "about four o'clock, there may be seen in the neighborhood of Tsukiji an old gentleman . . . driving about in a jinricksha. The jinricksha is a very heavy and somewhat clumsy one, built for safety rather than speed, and the venerable gentleman is strapped into it. . . . He is a cripple who has entirely lost the use of his hands and

legs, . . . and yet no one can look into his face and think that he is anything but happy."

The writer went on with an account of what the Bishop had done, saying, "I very much doubt whether the world has seen any other instance of so great a work accomplished under so great difficulties. It has often been my privilege to visit the Bishop in his study and I have wondered at the patience of the man. . . . He has never expressed any sorrow for himself; all that he has done has been to make the best of his sufferings."

Another neighbor at this time, who was in and out of the Bishop's house a good deal, was Miss Clara J. Neely, a member of the Mission and a friend of his daughter. The family was "at home" on Sunday afternoons, and Miss Neely, who often went in at that time, would always greet the Bishop in his study. He did not work at his translation on Sunday, but she frequently found him reading the Bible in some, to her, unknown tongue. "Don't you ever read the Bible in English?" she asked him one day. "Yes," he replied, "sometimes."

He invariably attended church on Sunday. "It was a wonderful sight," says Miss Neely, to see him come into church, supported on the shoulders of two Japanese. He was so large and they so small that they acted as crutches to him, supporting him under the arms."

At the time of the Russo-Japanese War she occasionally teased him about his country's defeat, to

which he would emphatically reply that he was not a Russian and wasn't sorry that the Russians were beaten. They were, he said, worse idolaters and heathen than the Japanese.

If the Bishop, as he became older and more infirm, required increasingly careful handling, Mrs. Scherschewsky, as she grew in age grew in charm. On the testimony of everyone who knew her in her Tokyo days, she was a very lovely old lady. Mrs. McKim was accustomed to speak of her as one of the people who needed no improvement to enter heaven. To the last year of her life she regularly wrote to Elliot Thomson on the anniversary of his ordination. This, says Mrs. Thomson, was typical of her thoughtfulness. Charles H. Evans, chaplain at the Tokyo Cathedral from 1897 to 1901, describes her as "a sort of extra sense for the chaplain; for there was never a sick person or one needing a visit from me, that she was not the first to advise me of." Bishop McKim, in 1906, when she was sixty-nine years old, wrote of her to Joshua Kimber, saying, "She is one of God's saints, as nearly perfect as a human being can be."

Hykes, returning from a furlough in America, visited the Bishop in his new house in Tokyo in February, 1905, and thus described him:

"I found him seated at his desk with his work before him, plodding on with the same patience and the same stern purpose which have characterized him for the past quarter of a century; but I was shocked to see

how he has changed in the fifteen months since we last met. He has lost a great deal of flesh and he is very feeble. He is evidently failing fast and he realizes it. He is absorbed by the one desire to live to complete the work he has in hand. . . . He is suffering from several infirmities incident to old age and his sedentary life, but he has kidney disease and an affection of the bladder which causes him constant pain. The doctor says that, in addition to the disease, his bladder is practically paralyzed. He gets very little sleep, but says that three or four hours sleep a night is all he requires.

"Mrs. Schereschewsky . . . is now no longer able to look after him at night, and he has been obliged to hire a Japanese man to sleep in his room and care for him. She too is getting very feeble. . . . She told me the other day that for nearly twenty-five years she would get up at any hour of the night when he could not sleep *and read to him*. When we remember that, at most, he has slept five hours in one night, we can realize what this meant. She added with a sigh of regret in every word, 'But I am obliged to give that up. I can no longer be of that service to him.'

"Last summer he was very ill in Nikko and afterwards was in the hospital in Tokyo for a month. Mrs. Schereschewsky told me that the doctors . . . said to her more than once that they could not hold out the slightest hope that he would get well. Even during this illness he had his Chinese scribe come to his bedside and continued his work. . . . He told me that he

had lost five months through this sickness, and but for it his work would now be completed. This is the only time he has lost in seven years.

"After repeated efforts during the past seven years, I have at last succeeded in getting Bishop Scherschewsky to give me, for the [Bible] Society, the original manuscript of his version of the Bible in Easy Wenli. . . . The whole of the manuscript, containing more than 2,000 foolscap pages, was written on a Caligraph typewriter by the Bishop with the middle finger of his partially paralyzed right hand. I thought until Saturday that he was able to use the first fingers of both hands, but I was mistaken. This version is a 'one-finger Bible.'"¹

The Bishop was under no delusions as to his own condition and talked freely with Hykes about his chances of living to finish the work he was doing. He seems to have given up the hope that he would live to adapt the Wenli Bible for use in Japan or to complete the translation of the Apocrypha. But he was

¹ When Hykes wrote a sketch of the Bishop's life for the 1907 Report of the American Bible Society, he seems to have forgotten this, for he reverted to his earlier erroneous impression that the Bishop had typed with two fingers. Since then, in articles and pamphlets issued by the Bible Society and by others, the error persists. Bishops McKim, Graves, Partridge, and Tucker, Drs. W. A. P. Martin, Arthur Lloyd, and F. L. Hawks Pott, the Rev. Joseph Carden, and the Bishop's son, all of whom knew the Bishop during the years of his disability, have definitely said that he typed with one finger only. His son is under the impression that he occasionally pressed the spacing bar by laying the first two fingers of his right hand flat upon it, which may have given rise to the two-finger legend.

eager to finish the three other tasks which he had set himself. These were the Reference Bible in Mandarin, the Reference Bible in Easy Wenli, and the harmonization and revision of both the Mandarin and Easy Wenli texts. The first was almost done; each of the others about two-thirds done. He would need, he thought, at least four months to complete them all. He felt he might reasonably count on living one month, and in that time would finish the revision and harmonization of the Mandarin and Wenli texts. He was not so confident of living long enough to finish the Reference Bibles. Hence he made careful arrangements with his Chinese helper, Lien, to complete them according to his plans, should death prevent his doing so.

One thing troubled him: the future of his daughter. He knew that his wife would have a pension from the Board of Missions after his death, and their house to shelter her as long as she lived, but after her death what would his daughter do? "She is," wrote Hykes, "a very lovely character, but she is extremely delicate and I do not wonder at the Bishop's anxiety on her account." "This is a very real trouble to the Bishop. . . . It is a shame that the wealthy Church to which he belongs and which he so highly honors by his life and work, should allow the evening of his life to be so unhappy. He said to me, 'If I am assured that Caroline will be provided for after her mother's death, I shall die happy; if not I shall die very unhappy.'"

His daughter had already shown capacity for

teaching and, as the event proved, there was no need for anxiety about her. His worry on this score seems, in part at any rate, to have been due to his physical condition. When Hykes saw him a week later he was "looking decidedly better" and in better spirits. Two months later, in April, 1905, the Rev. Henry Loomis, agent of the Bible Society in Japan, found him "better than he had seen him for a long time." He had then finished the unification and revision of the Mandarin and Easy Wenli texts. Before the end of the year the Mandarin Reference Bible was in the hands of the printer.

It was in 1905 that the Rev. Dr. L. B. Ridgely, on his way home from China on furlough, stopped to see the Bishop in Tokyo. "I'll see you again soon," said Ridgely on his departure.

"I won't be here on your return," replied the Bishop.

"Are you planning to move?" asked Ridgely in some surprise.

"I'll be over there in the cemetery!" said the Bishop cheerfully.

He spent the summer of 1905 in Karauizawa, and did remarkably well. But he had a setback soon after his return to Tokyo, where, in October, he was again thrown from his 'ricksha and fractured his shoulder. Thanks to the skill of Dr. Rudolf B. Teusler he was at work within a week after the accident.

For the next twelve months he was occupied in

correcting the printer's proofs of his Mandarin Reference Bible and in the completion of the manuscript of his Easy Wenli Reference Bible. At the end of the first week in October, 1906, Bishop McKim found him finishing the references in the last book of the Old Testament. He had already completed the New.

Ill health had become an increasing burden to him. He said to Bishop McKim: "I am never without pain. I do not care to live; and when I have done this book I pray the dear Lord to take me to Himself."

A week later, on Sunday evening, October 14th, Dr. Teusler told Bishop McKim that Bishop Schereschewsky might not live twenty-four hours. "But," wrote Bishop McKim, "when I called at the house about eight o'clock and saw the Bishop as usual sitting in his study chair, I thought, 'surely the doctor must be mistaken.'"

The next morning, Monday, October 15, 1906, at ten minutes past five, Bishop Schereschewsky quietly died. The cause of death was reported as diabetes.

He had worked until the Saturday morning before, and had completed his Easy Wenli Reference Bible, all but the final placing of the references to five chapters. This his Chinese assistant, Lien, was able to do.

Four years before his death the Bishop had said to Dr. Hykes, "I have sat in this chair for over twenty years. It seemed very hard at first. But God knew best. He kept me for the work for which I am best fitted."

It surely is not altogether fanciful to infer from his last recorded words that he came to the end of life with a sense of completion; in the night before he died he said twice, "It is well; it is very well."

When word of his death reached this country, Dr. John W. Wood, in an editorial in *The Spirit of Missions* wrote: "It was a notable and wonderfully useful life. . . . In all the history of the Church there have been few more remarkable."

It had been, as Mrs. Schereschewsky said, with unerring aptness of phrase, a life "laborious and full of strange vicissitudes."

XXIX

ONE CROSS

I SAW him, prepared for burial," says his daughter, "grand as some old Levite, in his bishop's robes."

In Trinity Cathedral, Tokyo, at two o'clock in the afternoon of the day of his death, the funeral service was held. It was conducted by Bishop McKim, who was assisted by Bishop Partridge of Kyoto and Bishop Foss of Osaka. The Russian Missionary Bishop Nicolai, and the American Ambassador were present. The burial was in the Aoyama Cemetery, Tokyo.

The Bishop's Mandarin Reference Bible was published by the American Bible Society in 1908; his Easy Wenli Reference Bible in 1910. The texts of both were those of his final revision, completed, as we have seen, in 1905. So great was the initial demand that the first printing of the Mandarin version of 19,000 copies, shortly followed by 8,000 more, was speedily exhausted.

His reference Bibles are still the only reference Bibles in Chinese. His Mandarin and Easy Wenli translations have, to some extent, been superseded by Union versions. The attempt on the part of the Union translators, appointed in 1890, to produce

two Wenli versions, one in Antique and one in Easy Wenli, was abandoned, and a Wenli Bible in a style somewhere between the two, but nearer the Easy Wenli, was at last issued in 1919. The Union Mandarin Bible was published the same year. Schereschewsky's work is at the basis of both. And there seems to be some doubt as to whether the Union translations are really an improvement on his.

No less an adept in Chinese than Bishop Roots of Hankow said to me a few years ago, "Despite the increasing use of the Union Mandarin Bible I am inclined to think that Bishop Schereschewsky's translation is still the better." And as recently as April, 1935, the Jesuit missionary, the Rev. P. B. Truxler, of Siccawei, in a paper on Bible translation in China, wrote: "Before the publication of the Union Version in Mandarin, Schereschewsky had no rival, and if his Mandarin Old Testament has been replaced by the Union Version, it still preserves, in the judgment of the best qualified critics, a special value which will be lasting. His Old Testament in the Easy Wenli replaces everything else."

When we recall that twenty-nine years elapsed between the appointment of the Union translation committees and the publication of their completed work, we gain some impression of the magnitude of Bishop Schereschewsky's single-handed labors. And no matter how often in the coming years Bible revision may be undertaken in China, his work will stand

to it as that of Tyndale and Coverdale has stood to all subsequent revision in English.

Bishop McKim and the Rev. Charles H. Evans were the Bishop's executors. Besides his books and house furnishings they found that he possessed at his death but \$1,800, which he had left to his wife. She also received the proceeds of a \$2,000 life insurance policy which had been paid for since 1877 by the women of Calvary Church, New York, and which, with its accumulations, amounted to \$3,051.

Mrs. Schereschewsky had had trouble with her eyes for many years. She was now almost blind. The doctors in Tokyo thought she might recover some measure of sight if she were treated by a German specialist at Wiesbaden. Thither she went, accompanied by her daughter, early in 1907. But nothing could be done. After six months they moved on to London, where Caroline attended a school of the drama for a year. At the end of that time they returned to Tokyo and there, a year later, on August 20, 1909, Mrs. Schereschewsky died.

"Had it not been for her sympathy, her unflagging devotion, and thoroughly consecrated Christian character," writes her daughter, "it would have been impossible for my father to have done his work. He would be the first to acknowledge this. As nurse, secretary, companion, she was by his side for the

twenty-five years of his life as an invalid. When he died her heart seemed to be buried with him."

"Mrs. Schereschewsky was one of the noblest women I have ever known," wrote Bishop McKim at the time of her death. "Her life in Tokyo has been a blessing to many, and to me one of encouragement and inspiration. Although nearly blind for the last seven years, she never allowed her interest in all good things to lapse. . . . She lived close to God, and one may reverently believe that the smile which illumined her face at the end was the reflection of the light that beamed upon her in benediction and welcome from on high."

She was buried beside her husband. One cross marks their graves.

SOME DATES IN SCHERESCHEWSKY'S LIFE

May 6, 1831	Born at Tauroggen, Russian Lithuania.
c. 1846-50	At Rabbinical School, Zhitomir, Russia.
c. 1850	Goes to Germany.
1852-54	At University of Breslau, Germany.
August, 1854	Arrives in New York.
Apr. 2, 1855	Definitely accepts Christianity.
Dec., 1855-	At Western Theological Seminary, Alle-
Feb., 1858	gheny, Pa.
March-Oct., 1858	At St. James' College, Gunpowder Falls, Md.
Oct., 1858-	At General Theological Seminary, New
May, 1859	York.
July 7, 1859	Ordained deacon.
July 13-	En route to China on sailing vessel.
Dec. 21, 1859	
Dec 22, 1859-	At Shanghai.
July 2, 1862	
Oct. 28, 1860	Ordained presbyter.
Feb. 11-July 9, 1861	On expedition exploring the Yangtze River.
July 20, 1862-	At Peking.
Apr. 20, 1875	
July, 1862-	Interpreter and acting Secretary of American
July, 1863	Legation.
1863	Begins translation of Bible and Prayer Book into Mandarin.
Autumn, 1864	Forms committee to translate New Testament.
July-Dec. (?), 1865	Visits Shanghai.
June-July, 1867	Visits Jews in Kaifeng Fu.
Jan. 31-	Visits Shanghai.
May 30, 1868	
Apr. 21, 1868	Marries Susan Mary Waring.

Some Dates in Schereschewsky's Life 261

1872	Mandarin Prayer Book and New Testament published.
March 6, 1873	Joseph Williams Schereschewsky born.
June 27, 1874	Caroline Schereschewsky born.
Dec., 1874	Mandarin Old Testament published.
July 1, 1875– Apr. 20, 1878	In the United States (Brooklyn, July, '75–June (?), '76; Philadelphia, June (?), '76–March, '77; Boston, March–Oct., '77; New York, Nov., '77–Apr., '78).
July 19, 1875	Naturalized as an American citizen.
Oct. 29, 1875	Elected Bishop of China (declines).
Oct. 13, 1876	Reëlected Bishop of China.
Autumn, 1876– Spring, 1878	Conducts campaign for endowment of a college in China.
Oct. 31, 1877	Consecrated Bishop.
May 1–Aug., 1878	In England; attends Lambeth Conference in July.
Oct. 20, 1878	Arrives in Shanghai.
Feb., 1879	Buys Jessfield for site of St. John's College.
Sept. 1, 1879	Opens St. John's College.
Nov., 1880	Finishes Easy Wenli Prayer Book.
Nov. 24, 1880– Aug. 23, 1881	At Wuchang.
Aug. 13, 1881	Sunstroke.
Aug. 26, 1881– March 8, 1882	In Shanghai.
Apr. 14, 1882– Aug. 21, 1886	In Europe (Paris, Apr. 16–May 18, '82; Geneva, May 19, '82–Aug. 10, '86).
Sept. 30, 1883	Resigns bishopric.
Sept. 3, 1886– Aug. 15, 1895	In the United States (East Orange, N. J., Sept.–Oct., '86; Philadelphia, Oct., '86–May, '87; Clifton Springs, N. Y., May–Sept., '87; Geneva, N. Y., Sept., '87–Dec., '88; Clifton Springs, N. Y., Dec., '88–May, '89; Exeter, N. H., May, '89–July, '91; Cambridge, Mass., Sept., '91–Aug., '95).

Summer, 1887	Begins revision of Mandarin Old Testament on Typewriter.
Autumn, 1888	Begins Easy Wenli Bible on typewriter.
Sept. 14, 1895– May 8, 1897	In Shanghai.
May 14, 1897– Oct. 15, 1906	In Japan, mostly in Tokyo.
1899	Revised Mandarin Old Testament published.
1902	Easy Wenli Bible published.
Oct. 15, 1906	Dies in Tokyo (Work on Reference Bibles in Mandarin and Easy Wenli completed).
Oct. 20, 1909	Mrs. Schereschewsky dies in Tokyo.

DATES OF FIRST PUBLICATION OF SCHERESCHEWSKY'S TRANSLATIONS

- 1865 Matthew in Mandarin.
- 1866 Genesis in Mandarin.
- 1867 Psalms in Mandarin.
- 1870 Hebrews and Revelation in Mandarin (in Pekin Committee's "Romans to Revelation").
- 1872 New Testament in Mandarin (by Pekin Committee: Schereschewsky, Blodget, Burdon, Edkins, and Martin).
- 1872 Prayer Book in Mandarin (Schereschewsky and Burdon).
- 1872 Matthew in Mongolian (Schereschewsky and Edkins).
- 1874 Old Testament in Mandarin.
- 1881 Prayer Book in Easy Wenli.
- 1881 Four short catechisms in Easy Wenli.
- 1897 Genesis and Job in Mandarin, revised.
- 1898 Proverbs in Mandarin, revised.
- 1898 New Testament in Easy Wenli.
- 1899 Pentateuch in Easy Wenli.
- 1899 Old Testament in Mandarin, revised (in new edition of Mandarin Bible).
- 1902 Bible in Easy Wenli.
- 1906 New Testament in Easy Wenli, revised.
- 1908 Reference Bible in Mandarin.
- 1910 Reference Bible in Easy Wenli.

His Mongolian Dictionary, it seems, was never completed. At any rate it was never published.

The typewritten manuscript of his "one-finger" (Easy Wenli) Bible which he gave to the American Bible Society (*see* p. 251) has been lost or mislaid. Dr. Hykes, in the 1907 Report of the Bible Society, said that it had been deposited in the Lenox Library, now part of the New York Public Library, but the Library neither has the

manuscript nor any record of ever having had it. Before going to China in 1895, the Bishop, to insure against its loss, had it photographed, twenty sheets at a time, and the negatives deposited in the Church Missions House. They are still in the vault there.

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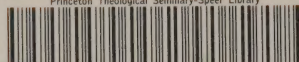
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